HISTORY OF SENATORIAL ELECTIONS IN IOWA

DAN ELBERT CLARK

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SENATORIAL ELECTIONS IN IOWA

HISTORY OF SENATORIAL ELECTIONS IN IOWA

BY

DAN ELBERT CLARK

PUBLISHED AT IOWA CITY IOWA IN 1912 BY
THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

03

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

THE doctrine that the people do not possess the judgment necessary for making a wise selection of public officials has never been seriously advocated in reference to the election of United States Senators in Iowa, notwithstanding the indirect method of election prescribed by the Federal Constitution. No one can read the history of the elections of United States Senators in this State without being impressed by the fact that the General Assembly has always acted upon the assumption that the selection should be made in accordance with the wishes of the people. Candidates, factions, and parties have habitually appealed to the electorate; and the victors have invariably declared the choice to be an expression of the popular will. And so it is evident that the movement of later years for a more direct method of electing United States Senators in Iowa concerns the form rather than the substance of the principle of selection.

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In the following account of the senatorial elections which have occurred in Iowa between the years 1846 and 1912, Dr. Clark has not attempted to write either a political history of Iowa or a biographical record of Iowa Senators. The book is simply what its title indicates — a history of senatorial elections in Iowa.

BENJ. F. SHAMBAUGH

OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT AND EDITOR
THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY IOWA

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

The Constitution of the United States provides that each State shall be represented in the federal Senate by two Senators who shall be chosen by the State legislature, and that each State shall prescribe by law the time, place, and manner of holding elections of Senators — but Congress may alter such regulations except as to the place of holding the elections. Until the enactment of a statute in 1866, however, Congress left the regulation of senatorial elections entirely to the State legislatures.

Twenty-five times during the history of Iowa has the General Assembly been called upon to select men to represent the Commonwealth in the Senate of the United States; and on three occasions the Governor has made appointments, two of which were later ratified by the legislature. Fifteen men have been the recipients of this highest gift within the power of the State. Two of them resigned before the expiration of their terms in order to accept positions in the President's Cabinet; death removed three in the midst of their duties; still others remained for two or three successive terms; while one occupied a seat

in the upper house of Congress for a period of thirty-five years.

For four of these men the governorship of the State of Iowa proved a stepping stone to a seat in the United States Senate. Six had previously represented the people of Iowa in the lower house of Congress, either as Territorial Delegate or as Representative. One had been a Justice of the Supreme Court of Iowa; while the remaining four were comparatively unexperienced in official position when they were sent to the Senate.

The history of the election of United States Senators differs from the history of contests for election to any other important office largely in the fact that the electorate is very limited, since only the members of the General Assembly participate directly in the election of United States Senators. The task which has confronted aspirants for this office, therefore, has been to win the votes of a majority of the members of the legislature.

At the same time there has always been a widespread interest in senatorial contests on the part of the people of the State on account of the importance of the office. And so candidates for Senator have endeavored by various means to win popular favor and thus indirectly to bring influence to bear on members of the General Assembly. The most ef-

fective means by which the claims of senatorial candidates have been brought before the people has been through the newspapers. Each of the leading candidates from 1846 down to the present time has had loyal and active supporters among the editors of the State. Circular letters, private correspondence, and personal canvass are other means which have been employed by candidates to further their cause among both the members of the legislature and the people at large.

While quiet work has often been begun far in advance of the date of election, senatorial contests have usually begun in earnest early in the summer of the year preceding the session of the legislature at which United States Senators were to be elected. Candidates in the ranks of both political parties announced themselves, and in many instances the contest for the senatorship has had an important effect on State elections. Not only has the bearing of the political complexion of the legislature on the election of United States Senators been cited as an argument for voting a straight ticket, but frequently legislative candidates have been nominated and elected on the basis of their preference for senatorial candidates. Frequently, also, nominating conventions have definitely instructed legislative nominees relative to their votes for United States Senators.

After the State elections the contest has as a rule been limited to candidates of the party which has secured a majority in the General Assembly. The main effort after that time has been to secure the party nomination in the caucus of members of the legislature shortly after the convening of the Assembly. With only a few exceptions the winning of the nomination of the dominant party has amounted to an election, for there have seldom been instances of bolting the caucus nominations in the votes in joint convention. Except for the deadlocks which began and closed the history of senatorial elections in Iowa and the unusual election of James Harlan in 1855, the elections in the joint conventions of the two houses of the legislature have been uneventful.

There was little variation in the methods of carrying on senatorial contests from the first campaign until the year 1907, when the movement in favor of the popular election of United States Senators which had been growing for many years culminated in the enactment of a statute providing for the nomination of Senators by the people at primary elections. Since 1907, therefore, it has been more necessary for candidates to appeal directly to the people for support, and thus in the ranks of both of the leading political parties there has been a more widespread popular interest in senatorial contests.

In the pages which follow the writer has endeavored to present the main facts concerning the election of United States Senators in Iowa from 1846 to 1912. An effort has been made to enumerate the leading aspirants for the senatorships, to state the arguments used for and against the various candidates, and to indicate the campaign methods employed in the various contests. Since 1855 the Republican party has controlled the General Assembly, and consequently it will be found that the writer has limited the discussion quite largely to the Republican candidates for United States Senator. In only a few cases since 1855 has there been sufficient prospect of Democratic success in the senatorial contests to draw out the active efforts of candidates in the ranks of that party.

The writer realizes that much interesting history has been left unwritten in this volume. Behind the scenes, as in most political contests, there have undoubtedly transpired many things which will never be known except to those intimately concerned. Doubtless influences were brought to bear in favor of or against various candidates of which the public knew nothing or at least had only vague suspicions. It would be folly to declare that promises of money, position, or power were never (if not frequently) made to gain support and votes in the race for the

coveted position. But it is believed that the history of senatorial elections in Iowa is relatively free from corrupt practices when compared with the history of similar contests in many other Commonwealths.

The discussion of senatorial elections in Iowa since 1900 has, for reasons which are obvious, been limited to a mere chronicle of the main events and features of the various contests.

The materials from which this volume was written fall mainly in three classes. The *Journals* of the Senate and House of Representatives of the General Assembly of Iowa furnished the outline and the official record of the elections. Newspaper files in the collections of The State Historical Society of Iowa at Iowa City and the Historical Department of Iowa at Des Moines supplied the great body of information concerning candidates and campaigns. The writer endeavored to obtain an impartial view by searching through the files of a large number of newspapers of both political parties.

Finally a glimpse of the personal side of some of the contests was gained from collections of the papers and correspondence of a number of the successful candidates. Perhaps the most helpful in this respect was the magnificent collection known as the *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan,* which was kindly loaned to The State His-

torical Society of Iowa by Mrs. Robert T. Lincoln, a daughter of Senator Harlan. Much valuable material was also secured from the *Correspondence of Samuel J. Kirkwood,* the *Correspondence of George W. Jones,* and other collections of papers which are preserved in the Historical Department of Iowa at Des Moines.

The preparation of this volume was begun several years ago while the writer was a graduate student in The State University of Iowa. From that time until the reading of the last page of proof the writer has benefited by the hearty interest and cooperation of his associates in The State Historical Society of Iowa, and grateful appreciation of their many services is hereby expressed. Especially does the writer desire to acknowledge his indebtedness to Dr. Benj. F. Shambaugh, Superintendent of The State Historical Society of Iowa, who first suggested the writing of this volume and whose advice and encouragement have been a constant aid and inspiration.

Dan Elbert Clark

The State Historical Society of Iowa
Iowa City Iowa

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I

THE FIRST SENATORIAL ELECTION IN IOWA

When the long controversy over boundaries had been settled late in the summer of 1846[1] and it was definitely decided that Iowa should be admitted into the Union, leading politicians began to cast their nets for the many choice offices which statehood would create. The most coveted offices naturally were the two seats in the United States Senate, and so the contest for these places began early and grew in bitterness as time progressed.

The first general election for State officers and for members of the General Assembly was held on October 26, 1846. During the weeks immediately preceding this election newspaper editors called the attention of their readers to the fact that two United States Senators were to be chosen by the General Assembly and that the political complexion of the legislature would determine whether Whigs or Democrats would receive these much desired offices. "Let every friend of the Tariff of 1842; every advocate for the improvement of our Rivers and Harbors; every opponent of the Sub Treasury and the issuance of treasury notes, and every patriotic voter in Iowa remember", urged the editor of an

Iowa City paper, "that the first General Assembly will be charged with the responsible duty of electing two Senators to represent the State of Iowa in the Senate of the United States. . . . Shall Iowa be misrepresented in the Senate by progressive Locofocos, or truly represented by Whigs, or old fashioned Democrats?"[2]

The Democrats were the dominant party at this time, and on October 26, 1846, they elected their entire State ticket, and secured twelve of the nineteen Senators; while the Whigs elected twenty out of the thirty-nine Representatives.[3] Thus it appeared that the Democrats would have a clear majority on a joint ballot, and would be able to reward two of their faithful leaders by electing them to the dignified position of United States Senator. Consequently it was within the ranks of the Democratic party that the greatest hopes were raised. Candidates for the nomination announced themselves early, and began to canvass the situation in support of their claims. Among the Whigs there were doubtless many who looked with equal longing toward the senatorships; but, belonging to the minority party, they lacked the prospect of probable or even possible success to inspire them to an active campaign. It was not until after the assembling of the legislature, when the outlook was brighter, that the Whig aspirants seem to have exerted themselves to any great extent.

A stir was produced in both parties, however, when it was discovered that in Lee County an

independent legislative ticket composed of both Whigs and Democrats had been elected, and that the orthodoxy of the three Locofoco members[4] could not be depended upon. "For the information of our readers without the bounds of Iowa", wrote a Whig editor at Iowa City, "we will state that we have a party in this State, called *Possums* by their partizan neighbors. They reside in Lee, the most populous county in the State, and have a way of doing things, which enables them to wield a prodigious influence in a party conflict. . . . The last legislative ticket was made up of one Whig and one Democratic Senator, and three Whig and two Democratic Representatives, and the entire ticket was elected by a large majority. . . . There was a regular Locofoco ticket, and of course the Democrats elected on the Independent ticket will not consider themselves as instructed to go for Locofoco men or measures."[5]

Naturally there was much speculation as to the course these three Independent Democrats from Lee County would take in the election of United States Senators. If they should vote with the Democrats it was reasonably certain that Locofoco Senators would be chosen. On the other hand, if they voted with the Whigs there might be a victory for that party; while if they should vote independently they might even prevent an election. Thus an element of uncertainty added interest to the contest, and both parties maneuvered for the support of the three doubtful members. The Democrats charged the

Whigs with "openly and shamefully boasting, that, by the system of bargain and sale, for which they have become notorious, they will secure the support of the three democratic members from Lee county, in the election of United States Senator". The Whigs strenuously denied the charge, and sought to gain favor with the three Independents by praising their honesty and uprightness.[6]

A majority of the Democrats of the southern part of the State, from the first, seem to have favored Augustus Caesar Dodge of Burlington, whose services for two years as Register of the Land Office at Burlington had made him many friends; and who as Delegate to Congress for six years had demonstrated his ability to care faithfully for the interests of his constituents.[7] In the northern portion of the State popular sentiment among the Democrats was divided in support of a number of men, the most prominent of whom were Judge Thomas S. Wilson, Stephen Hempstead, and Lewis A. Thomas — all of Dubuque. In writing to his friend Laurel Summers of the prospects of the various aspirants early in October, Lewis A. Thomas declared that there was a general feeling that Judge Wilson had been "well treated by the Democratic Party and therefore he ought to defer his pretentions to others who have not been so highly favored."[8] It is probable, however, that this statement was more or less colored by the fact that Thomas himself was one of those who had not been "so highly favored." At any rate Judge Wilson's chances

continued to grow brighter as the time for the election approached.

The northern and southern portions of the State were equally determined that the other section should not capture both of the senatorships. Thus, at this early date there was begun that sectional strife which for so many years troubled the waters of the senatorial sea at election time. Indeed, it was not until in comparatively recent years that the discordant cry of the sectionalist ceased to be heard whenever a new Senator was to be selected.

Shortly before the meeting of the First General Assembly there appeared in the columns of a Locofoco journal at Iowa City a charge against the Whigs which is interesting in the light of the subsequent action of the Democratic members of the legislature. It was asserted that the Whigs in some parts of the State had "so far forgotten their obligations as men and citizens of a republic, as to menace us [the Democrats] with a refusal of the Whig House to go into an election of United States Senators", if there was no prospect of a Whig victory, and that this was "in character with those political desperadoes who shamelessly *boast* of purchasing freemen at the polls like cattle in the shambles". "But let them so refuse if *they dare*", warned the editor.[9]

This charge drew the fire of the Whig press all over the State, and a vituperative war of words ensued. "The Reporter is hugely alarmed lest the Whigs should follow the lead of Locofocoism", said

one Whig editor. "Remember that you always put too low an estimate on the Whigs when you judge them by the example set by *practical* Locofocoism."[10] Eastin Morris, another Whig editor, declared that if the Whig members were to act as intimated in the Democratic allegation "they would better deserve places in the penitentiary, than seats in the Legislature." But, said he, "they are constitutional law abiding men, and never have, and never will cut any such capers." If any of the Whig legislators elect contemplated such action he would be pleased to receive their names, in order that they might "take their stations among the Locofocos where all disorganizers more properly belonged".[11]

The meeting of the First General Assembly of the new State of Iowa at Iowa City on November 30, 1846, drew to the seat of government a great number of people from all parts of the State. "The taverns and all the private boarding houses are crowded to overflowing", was the statement of a local editor. "Some have come hither to enjoy a few gala days with their friends in the legislature, and to see the wheels of the new government set in motion; but from the Senatorial and Judge-like faces, which meet us at every turn, we are inclined to believe that nearly half of the lobby members are aspirants to seats in the United States Senate, or on the Supreme Bench of Iowa, or the influential friends of those who aspire to put on the Senatorial robe, or the ermine of Justice."[12]

Both parties held early caucuses. Although no

records have been found, the Whigs seem to have determined upon Jonathan McCarty and Gilbert C. R. Mitchell; while Judge Thomas S. Wilson and Augustus Caesar Dodge were the choice of the Democrats.[13]

On Saturday, December 5, 1846, Irad C. Day moved a resolution that the two houses should meet at two o'clock on the following Monday for the purpose of electing United States Senators. On Monday morning the resolution was read a second time, and after some discussion a substitute resolution was adopted providing for a joint convention on December 11th, to elect three Judges of the Supreme Court and two United States Senators.[14] In the Senate this resolution was amended by striking out all that part which related to the election of Judges.[15] The House refused to concur in the Senate's amendments; the Senate insisted; and the House stood firm on disagreeing. A committee of conference was appointed by each house; but all to no purpose. Affairs seemed at a standstill. "We can form no idea when the election will take place", complained a Whig editor, "probably not until most of the candidates shall have left for 'Home sweet Home.' "[16]

The refusal of the Democratic Senate to accede to the wishes of the Whig House elicited bitter criticism from the Whig press. The charge which a month earlier the Democrats had been making against the Whigs was now applied to the Locofocos in the legislature. "We understand that the Loco-

focos have broken up in their caucuses more than once", asserted one editor, "because 'Caesar was ambitious' to go to Washington and take a seat in the U. S. Senate." This was a slap at Augustus Caesar Dodge and his friends who were charged with sacrificing the best interests of the State to the ambitions of one man. "It will take more time and talent . . . . than all the Locofoco Senate has", continued the writer, "to convince the people that there is any good reason for the delay, or any necessity for holding more than one session to elect five officers".[17]

In the midst of these proceedings, when the atmosphere was already overcharged with excitement, a new sensation was caused by the exposure of an attempt at bribery. Shortly after two o'clock on the afternoon of December 9, 1846, Nelson King, member from Keokuk County, rose in his place in the House of Representatives and announced that since taking his seat in the House he had been approached by several persons in regard to casting his vote for United States Senator "and that several distinct propositions of money and other reward had been offered him, if he would vote for General Dodge for Senator, or J. C. Hall, or either of them, as may or might be determined upon". He was assured, he said, that he would be secure "from all blame or suspicion," since he would be furnished with written instructions from his constituents telling him how to vote. Furthermore, he stated that Samuel T. Marshall of Lee County "gave him a five dollar note

on the State Bank of Ohio . . . . and told him to call on him at any future time and he would give him one hundred dollars, or any amount he wanted", and that he had been informed that the money was from Augustus C. Dodge. Finally, King asserted that Marshall had given him two receipts for personal indebtedness.[18]

A committee of five was appointed to investigate the charge of bribery and was given full power to send for persons and papers, and the Speaker of the House was authorized to issue his warrant for the arrest of S. T. Marshall. A resolution was introduced thanking Nelson King "for his honest, high-minded and patriotic conduct" in announcing the attempt at bribery to secure his vote for Democratic Senators.[19]

In the discomfiture of the Democrats at King's startling announcement the Whigs found a soothing balm for their own wounded feelings. The attempt at bribery and corruption furnished Whig newspaper men with abundant material for columns of scathing denunciation and stinging satire. It seems that in addition to the offers of money, Marshall had promised King they would make a gentleman of him if he would vote for Dodge. "Marshall's idea of a gentleman must be fine clothes and 'lots' of cash — Dodge cash", satirized the editor of a Bloomington paper. "Here we see, the promise, on the part of Marshall, of money, office; and above all something that should make a gentleman of Mr. King. The voting for Dodge and receiving a bribe to do so constituted a

locofoco's idea of a gentleman!'' Augustus Caesar Dodge again came in for his share of Whig attention. ''Augustus Caesar Dodge!'' continued the same editor, ''any other name would make just as nice a man; but it would not sound half so big — Peter Pelliken, for instance, would not sound half as sonorous, nor as Roman like, yet, Peter Pelliken might belong in reality to a greater man than S. T. Marshall or his patron Augustus Caesar Dodge.''[20]

Further evidence of Locofoco manipulation to secure votes for Democratic Senators was brought out early in the progress of the King investigation. This time it was two of the much sought after Lee County Independents who were the objects of attack, by a certain William Patterson[21] of their own county, as is shown by the following affidavit:

I do hereby certify, that on Tuesday, December, 2d, 1846, I was authorized by Col. William Patterson, of Lee county, Iowa, to offer to Josiah Clifton and Reuben Conlee each the use of one hundred dollars for ninety nine years if desired, without interest, if they would give their votes in an election then about to come on, for United States Senators in the General Assembly for such a man, or men, as the said Colonel William Patterson, would name, for the office of United States Senator. Also, I was authorized by Col. Patterson and Silas Haight to offer Josiah Clifton, individually, on their own part and the part of their associates, to enter into a bond of ten thousand dollars, if necessary, to secure him an appointment in the Land Office as Register or Receiver; providing, he would vote for men for the United States Senate, whom they would name. . . .

JOHNSON C. CHAPMAN.[22]

While the excitement caused by the exposure of bribery and corruption was still at its height, each branch of the General Assembly maneuvered to secure a joint convention upon terms which accorded with the wishes of their respective majorities. The Democrats in the Senate insisted on choosing the Senators before going into an election for Judges; while the Whig Representatives were equally determined that the Judges should be selected first, and that both Senators and Judges should be chosen during the same joint session.[23] The Whigs gave as the reason for their position that the Supreme Court should convene on the first of January, and that it was therefore necessary that the Judges should be elected as early as possible. They were not willing, however, to attribute honorable motives to their opponents. "There is another potent reason for electing the Supreme Judges first"; wrote Eastin Morris in an Iowa City paper, "and that is, that many of their opponents are furiously opposed to it. They must have a party reason for contending so strenuously for the election of Senators first. They imagine that it would enable them to gain some party advantage. Seeing this, the Whigs have a right to thwart their schemes."[24]

However, when the legislature had been in session three weeks and the prospect of an agreement seemed as distant as ever, the Whigs were ready to recede from their uncompromising position and make concessions to the Locofocos. On December 14, 1846, the Senate passed a resolution to the effect

that that body would proceed to the hall of the House of Representatives for the purpose of choosing Supreme Court Judges, as soon after the election of Senators as the House might agree upon.[25] This proposition met with reluctant favor in the House of Representatives where on December 16th resolutions were adopted stating that the House would be prepared to receive the Senate on December 18th and 19th for the election of Senators and Judges respectively.[26] The resolution providing for the election of Senators received a few unimportant amendments in the Senate, was passed by a vote of twelve to seven,[27] and was returned to the House where the Senate amendments were concurred in by a vote of thirty-eight to one.[28] The resolution as finally passed not only specified the time of choosing United States Senators, but went into some detail in prescribing the manner in which the election should be conducted.[29]

On Friday morning, December 18, 1846, the two houses of the General Assembly of Iowa met for the first time in joint convention for the election of United States Senators. The Old Stone Capitol was the scene of unwonted animation. Leading politicians from all parts of the State, interested in the outcome of the senatorial contest, had been in Iowa City since the assembling of the legislature, and they, of course, were present in full force. Besides those vitally interested, the building doubtless held others drawn thither by idle curiosity or the prospect of an exciting session.[30]

At half past eleven the members of the Senate, preceded by their president, secretary, and sergeant-at-arms, filed into the crowded hall of the House of Representatives and took the seats assigned to them by Speaker Jesse B. Browne, who acted as president of the convention. Silas A. Hudson, Chief Clerk of the House, as secretary of the convention, read the roll of the General Assembly and every member answered to his name. Thomas H. Benton, Jr. of the Senate, and G. W. Bowie of the House were then appointed tellers and the voting for Senator commenced.[31]

No doubt deep silence reigned over the crowded hall as Silas A. Hudson began to read the alphabetical list of members, and each in turn cast his ballot for the man of his choice. When the last name had been called and the votes were counted, it was found that Jonathan McCarty, the Whig candidate, had received twenty-nine votes; while Thomas S. Wilson, the Democratic nominee, had only twenty-eight votes. Senator Huner and Representatives Clifton and Conlee, the doubtful members from Lee County, voted for McCarty, but to the surprise of all, Senator Fullenwider of Des Moines County, a staunch Whig, cast his ballot for Gilbert C. R. Mitchell.[32] Thirty votes were necessary to elect, and therefore Samuel Fullenwider's failure to vote with his Whig brethren was the means of defeating McCarty.

When the result was announced the excitement which had been suppressed during the balloting

burst all bounds and a lively scene ensued. The president scarcely had time to declare that there was no election, and to put the question, "Will the Convention proceed to a second balloting?", before an excited Locofoco moved to adjourn. The Democrats saw very clearly that if a second ballot were taken and Samuel Fullenwider should vote for McCarty their own candidate would be defeated. "The locos were in a fix", wrote an eye witness of the proceedings. "As Legislators and Senatorial electors they were bound to proceed with the election. But as locofocos they were bound to *stave it off*, regardless of consequences, and they did not hesitate. Motion after motion was made to adjourn. The ayes and noes were taken alternately to adjourn the Convention, for the sole purpose of preventing a second balloting, and as often decided in the negative." A motion to the effect that all motions to adjourn should be considered out of order until after another ballot had been cast met with furious opposition, and the president declined to decide the question. Motions to adjourn indefinitely or to certain days were made in such rapid succession that it was often difficult to determine which was entitled to recognition. The Democratic Senators threatened to leave the convention, "and they were upon the point of marching", continued the narrator, "when Dr. Davis requested a parley, and appealed to the Convention to let them retire with the consent of the Convention. At this critical stage of the row, Mr. Benton, of Dubuque, left the Clerk's desk where he

had been employed as one of the tellers, and appealed to the Convention in a mild, gentlemanly and plausible manner to save the reputation of the Legislature, and to let the Senate retire with the consent of the Convention. His speech had a tranquilizing effect, and Messrs. Clifton and Conlee, independents, voted in favor of an adjournment until the 5th of January next."[33] The motion to adjourn carried by a vote of thirty to twenty-eight, and the Senate retired to its own chamber.[34] On the following day the General Assembly adjourned to meet again on January 4, 1847.

Again Whig newspapers teemed with abusive editorials and condemnatory articles directed against their opponents for preventing an election of United States Senators. The Locofocos were charged with fighting under the motto:

> He that fights and runs away,
> May live to fight another day;
> But he that is in battle slain
> May never live to fight again![35]

"The understanding out of doors is, that there will be no election during the present session", ran the complaint in the columns of an Iowa City paper. "The leading locofocos do not hesitate to say that unless they can elect their men, they are determined to *stave off* the election until there is another General Assembly." "Will the people of Iowa sanction this procedure?" demanded the editor. "Will they to gratify the whims of a few office holders, and office-seekers, consent that Iowa shall be unrepresented

in the Senate of the United States for two years?— when the nation is at war — when the questions of protection of American labor and American manufactures are at stake — and when a system of Internal Improvement, of our Rivers and Harbors, is about to be sacrificed at the shrine of party, they will not, they can not, and we are almost tempted to say, they dare not.''[36]

The recess of the General Assembly was a period of scheming and intrigue on the part of the aspirants for the senatorships. It appears that after the deadlock and consequent failure to elect on December 18th, Jacob Huner, the independent Democratic Senator from Lee County, decided that he would enter the lists. He confided his intention to his fellow partizan, Josiah Clifton. The third member of the independent trio from Lee County, Reuben Conlee, had died on December 23rd, and so Huner and Clifton now held the balance of power on joint ballot. Thus they hoped, by promising to go over to the Democratic camp, to induce the Locofocos to nominate Huner in place of Augustus Caesar Dodge. The Democrats, however, refused to fall in with this proposition, although they seem to have offered to substitute Ver Planck Van Antwerp for Dodge, who was particularly displeasing to Huner.[37] It was secretly intimated a little later that Judge Thomas S. Wilson had been somewhat involved in the attempt to drop Dodge.[38]

The Whigs were also active during these two weeks. ''The whigs'', wrote ex-Governor James

Clarke to Laurel Summers, "were ready to bargain with any one who could bring them votes enough to elect their man; they approached the friends of Gen. Dodge repeatedly with offers of this kind, but were in every instance within my knowledge repulsed. That Judge Wilson and his friends have been tried in the same way I doubt not". Milton D. Browning, a Whig Senator from Des Moines County, intimated the writer, was endeavoring "to concoct a bargain for his own benefit with northern democrats."[39]

The legislature reassembled in the Old Stone Capitol on January 4, 1847, and on the following morning the Senate was informed that the House would be prepared to receive the Senators in joint convention at two o'clock that afternoon for the purpose of electing two United States Senators.[40] Two o'clock came, but no Senators appeared in the hall of the House of Representatives; and again the chief clerk was sent to remind them that the hour for the joint convention had arrived.[41] The summons passed unheeded. The Democratic majority in the Senate, seeing no possibility of electing Locofocos, was determined to carry out its threat and prevent an election.

"What will be the next move of the 'democracy,' or whether they will move at all, no whig can tell", commented a Whig editor. "The whigs have done their duty from the beginning, and will throw the responsibility of the failure to elect, upon the locofocos, with a force which will cause a mighty shaking of the dry bones of Polkery at the next election."[42]

As day after day passed even the most optimistic lost hope of electing United States Senators. Resolutions were passed by the House, but to no purpose. The Senate would not concur. The embittered feeling which existed between the two parties received expression when, on the evening of February 24, 1847, S. B. Olmstead, a Democratic member of the House, arose and offered the following resolution:

Whereas, it is believed on all hands that a large majority of the people of Iowa are democratic in their politics, and approve of the policies and measures of the General Administration. And whereas, owing to the condition of parties in the Legislature, it is out of the power of the Democratic members to elect United States Senators, who will fairly represent the wishes of the people, and in whom they have confidence. And whereas, we have an abiding confidence that our course, in refusing to permit the State to be misrepresented in one of the branches of the National Legislature, will be sustained by the people; therefore

Resolved, That we unanimously resign our seats as members of the House of Representatives. Provided the members of the Senate will do the same.

The Whigs were ready with a reply. Elijah Sells of Muscatine County proposed the following substitute, which together with the original was immediately laid on the table:

Whereas, a majority of the members of this House have been willing at all times to go into the election of United States Senators and Supreme Judges. And whereas, the people are defeated in their Representation in the Senate

of the United States, in consequence of such refusal on the part of the loco foco members of this General Assembly; therefore, be it

Resolved, That those members, who have defeated the election, be requested to resign, in order to enable the people to elect such men as will regard their oaths and do their duty.[43]

The course of the Locofocos in the General Assembly was the subject of caustic denunciation by the Whigs at a large mass meeting held at Iowa City on Washington's birthday. Inasmuch as the State was deprived of its representation in the Senate of the United States "by the unconstitutional refusal of the Locofoco party of Iowa to consent to an election", they committed the interests of the people of Iowa "to the kind care, and keeping, of the Hon. John J. Crittenden of Kentucky, and the Hon. Thomas Corwin of Ohio."[44]

Furthermore, not all Democrats throughout the State were willing to endorse the action of their representatives in the legislature. "It is perhaps a matter of regret", ran an editorial in the columns of a Locofoco journal, "that any professing democrats should so far lose sight of principles, no less than the expressed will, and interests of the people of [the] State, as to declare their willingness to see the democratic party in the Legislature assume the responsibility of indefinitely postponing the election of United States Senators."[45]

Late in the session, after much discussion and amendment, the legislature passed "An Act to pro-

vide for the election of United States Senators and other officers",[46] which received the Governor's approval on February 23, 1847. This law provided for a joint convention to be held in the hall of the House of Representatives at the session of the General Assembly next preceding the expiration of the term of a United States Senator, or at any session when there should be a vacancy. The president of the Senate, or in his absence, the speaker of the House, was to preside over the joint convention. One teller was to be appointed by each house, and the chief clerk of the House of Representatives was to act as secretary of the convention. The names of the members were to be arranged in alphabetical order, and each man was to vote *viva voce* for Senator as his name was called. A majority of the votes of the members present was necessary to elect. The law further provided for adjourned sessions of the joint convention, certificates of election, credentials, and temporary appointment by the Governor. Under the rules thus prescribed subsequent elections of United States Senators from Iowa were conducted for nearly twenty years.

On February 25, 1847, the First General Assembly adjourned *sine die,* and legislators, lobbyists, and disappointed office seekers departed for their homes. Thus ended the first act in the dramatic contest over the election of the first United States Senators from Iowa with the young Commonwealth deprived of its full share of the first fruits of statehood.

During the spring and summer of 1847 the senatorial question seems to have received little attention, but late in the fall there was a sudden revival of interest, due to rumors that Governor Briggs intended to call a special session of the legislature. Speculation was rife as to the probable purpose of an extra session. "But a few weeks since", was the comment of a writer in an Iowa City paper, "the leading locofoco papers expressed themselves adverse to the holding of a session, and it was said by those supposed to be in the confidence of the Executive, that that officer was immovably fixed in his determination not to convene the General Assembly. All of a sudden, however, the organs of locofocoism changed their tune, and what before was unwise and impolitic, is now become the height of wisdom, and demanded by the best interests of the people. . . . What sudden danger threatens the people of Iowa, that their Solons are suddenly called from their homes, and summoned to the capitol?"[47]

Among the Whigs there was a disposition to attribute the abrupt change in Governor Briggs's policy to the condition of affairs at Washington. Outside pressure was believed to have been brought to bear on the Governor. President Polk had gone into office in 1845, after one of the most closely contested elections in the history of this country, and his unpopular war with Mexico had brought down upon him the most violent criticism. In the Congress soon to assemble it was certain that the Whigs would have a majority in the House of Representa-

tives; while in the Senate the Democrats might also be in the minority if John C. Calhoun and his followers should act in accordance with their votes at the preceding session. In this precarious state of his fortunes President Polk had need of all possible assistance, and it was claimed by the Whigs that he had demanded help from Iowa through the election of two Democratic Senators, and that this was the reason for the extra session of the legislature.[48]

Candidates for the senatorship appeared in all parts of the State as soon as the probability of a special session became known. "There is scarce a town or village in the State which does not hold some one, who is amply qualified, in his own estimation, to represent the State in the above named capacity", was the statement of a Bloomington editor. In Dubuque alone he declared there were no less than nine candidates, "all Locos of course." In Lee County, continued the editor, "every bar-room shanty, or other place of resort, is rife with speculations as to who the fortunate persons will be on whom the choice of the Legislature will fall. This one says, 'Dodge,'— 'Van Antwerp' that — another one says — 'Wilson,' Mason, Hall, Williams, Hempstead and Benton — all are spoken of — they must be fed; And so too must, *'Old Red.'* " But if "Old Red" should decide to go to the Senate of the United States, the writer declared, "we say to all those 'lesser lights,' get out of the way — the engine is coming."[49]

On December 3, 1847, Governor Ansel Briggs

issued a proclamation calling a special session of the General Assembly to meet at the capitol at Iowa City on Monday, January 3, 1848.[50] To the people of the thriving little capital city the advent of the legislature meant not only a season of pleasure and entertainment, but also a substantial increase in the business of the town. The keepers of inns and lodging houses were especially pleased with the prospect and began early to make preparations for the accommodation of their guests.[51]

It was generally conceded that the chief object of the extra session was the election of United States Senators, and the Whigs were given early admonition as to the course they should pursue, through the columns of a leading Whig journal. They should, declared the editor, "without hesitation, meet in convention and perform their sworn constitutional duty, in the election of two United States Senators and three Supreme Judges. The constitution says they shall elect, and if no elections shall take place let the responsibility of a failure continue to rest upon the locofoco members." If it were found that no Whig could be elected, it was the duty of the Whigs to unite with the conservative Locofocos and endeavor to elect "two respectable democrats" who were opposed to the tariff of 1846 and the war with Mexico, and who favored the Wilmot Proviso and internal improvements at the expense of the general government. "There is a blue and a better blue," was the prudent advice, "and a half a cake is better than no bread."[52]

The General Assembly convened in extra session on Monday, January 3, 1848. The first day was consumed in effecting an organization. Caucuses were doubtless held by both parties; but the record has apparently been lost, and there is little, indeed, to indicate who were the most prominent candidates for the senatorships at any time during the session. Judge Thomas S. Wilson and Augustus Caesar Dodge seem to have been the favorites among the Democrats, while the Whigs seem to have centered their efforts on defeating their opponents without strongly advocating any candidates.[53]

All hope of the election of Senators soon faded away in a bitter controversy over the right of certain Democratic members of either house, but more especially of the Senate, to retain their seats. In the House of Representatives on January 4, 1848, it was announced that John N. Kinsman, the Representative from the counties of Marion, Polk, Dallas, and Jasper, was not entitled to his seat, because he had during the preceding February resigned and removed from the district which he claimed to represent.[54] In the Senate on the following day a similar charge was preferred against Senator James Davis, and the right of Thomas Baker and John M. Whitaker to represent their respective districts was questioned on the ground that each had since his election accepted a lucrative office.[55] In each case a committee of three was appointed and given full power to send for persons and papers and to investigate the facts.

The committee appointed to investigate the case of John N. Kinsman reported to the House without recommendation, and after much discussion by a strict party vote the seat was declared vacant on January 21, 1848.[56] In the Senate, however, the Democrats were in the majority; and so Davis, Baker, and Whitaker were all allowed to retain their seats, much to the disgust of the Whigs who submitted minority reports and entered solemn protests on the journal.[57]

It must be admitted that the Whigs had some justification for the columns of censure which appeared in their journals, charging the Locofocos with attempting to secure the election of United States Senators by the votes of illegal members of the General Assembly. Kinsman, Davis, and Baker were clearly not entitled to their seats — the first two having resigned and having to all intents and purposes removed from the districts they were chosen to represent, though it was claimed that their resignations never reached the Governor; while Baker was actually enjoying the benefits of a county office. John M. Whitaker, however, seems to have had some rightful claim to his seat, and he was allowed to remain in the Senate with but little opposition from the Whigs.

Until John N. Kinsman's seat was declared vacant the Whigs and Democrats were evenly matched in the House of Representatives, each party having nineteen votes. The balance of power thus rested in the hands of Josiah Clifton, the

Independent from Lee County, who was the object of fulsome praise by the Whigs and, after an unsuccessful wooing, of scathing denunciation by the Democrats. It was stated that previous to the meeting of the legislature Clifton had been approached by the Democrats and asked to write to Governor Briggs promising to vote to go into a joint convention for the election of United States Senators. He was assured, ran the account, that each house would be purged of all illegal members, and that he would not be acting contrary to the wishes of his constituents, whom he considered as opposed to the election of Augustus Caesar Dodge. With this understanding Clifton appears to have made some sort of a pledge to the Governor. But when the legislature assembled, and it was found that the Senate allowed Davis and Baker to retain their seats, Clifton sided with the Whigs and, to use the words of a Keokuk editor, "like an independent and honest man" refused to vote to go into an election.[58]

The Democrats, disappointed at their failure to draw Clifton into their camp, could scarcely find words strong enough to express their contempt for him. "For after a Member, of his own free will, without any solicitation from any quarter, has solemnly pledged in writing to the Governor, to cast his vote for a joint convention, without any qualifying provision", was the comment of a violently partisan Locofoco editor at Dubuque, "and after the session is called, makes another di[s]tinct pledge to the Representatives, and then repeatedly and wil-

fully refuses to discharge his obligations; he has no claim to public confidence, nor should his friends object to any title, which may, so far as a name can, exhibit to the public his true character."[59]

As has been suggested the Whigs, with the aid of Josiah Clifton, had a majority in the House of Representatives, and thus were able to persist in their refusal to go into joint convention as long as there were illegal members in the Senate. Time after time resolutions providing for a joint convention were adopted in each branch of the legislature; but since the House refused to meet while James Davis and Thomas Baker retained their seats and the Senate declined to declare those seats vacant, the days passed by and nothing was done. The General Assembly adjourned on January 25, 1848, without accomplishing the most important objects for which the extra session had been called. Partisan politics and personal jealousy had for a second time prevented the election of United States Senators.

Whether in this instance the Whigs or the Democrats were the most to blame is perhaps an even question. Both parties exhibited a reprehensible readiness to sacrifice public interest at the shrine of party welfare. If, as seems to be the case, the Democrats permitted two illegal members to retain their seats in the Senate, the Whigs perhaps had some justification according to the ethics of politics for their refusal to go into joint convention. "Locofocoism in Iowa had culminated", was the post-session observation of a Whig editor, "and, the

tremendous influences of patronage and power were put in requisition to stay its rapid and total declination. His, is entitled to the name of a happy genius, who suggested the idea of a special session, as a prop to a desperate and sinking cause. Its result has been, to exhibit to what expedients political aspirants will resort to accomplish an end."[60]

Interest in the senatorial contest did not wholly subside during the early months of 1848, for it was realized that in December a new General Assembly would convene and in all probability the long continued dead-lock would be broken. At the August election the Democrats rallied to the polls in full force, and not only elected their entire State ticket but secured a substantial majority in both branches of the legislature. The hopes of Locofoco aspirants for senatorial honors rose accordingly. "With the aid of Gen. Taylor's popularity", exulted a Democratic editor, "the whigs have succeeded, at the last election, in securing to themselves the loss of both houses of the legislature — thus magnanimously giving to the Democracy both of the United States senators."[61]

Many weeks before the opening of the General Assembly Democratic candidates for the senatorships traversed the State in the effort to create public sentiment and enlist the interest of legislators in their behalf. The Whigs, hopelessly in the minority, apparently took little part in the campaign. Between rival candidates in the Democratic party, however, a sharp contest was waged. Augustus

Caesar Dodge was again the favorite with the people of the southern part of the State, although he was not without some opposition. "Hall & Co. are moving Heaven & Earth to defeat my election to the Senate", wrote Dodge to a friend. "Hall and Judge Kinney are both, I am informed, from the best authority, candidates for the Senate. The former electioneers upon my demerits — the length of time I have been in office — the money I have received."[62] In the northern section Judge Thomas S. Wilson was once more a promising candidate, but a new star had appeared in the person of George W. Jones of Dubuque, formerly Delegate to Congress from the Territory of Wisconsin. Between these two men there began a bitter contest which not only added excitement to this particular campaign, but was continued with growing intensity throughout many subsequent years.

The legislature assembled for the second regular session on December 4, 1848. On the following evening the Democratic members of both houses, thirty-eight in all, met in caucus in the hall of the House of Representatives. After excluding from the hall all persons not qualified to remain, the roll was called and the caucus proceeded to vote for candidates for United States Senator. Each man wrote two names on his ballot, and a majority of all the votes cast was necessary to nominate. On the first ballot Augustus Caesar Dodge received every vote and was duly declared a candidate. A second and a third ballot were then taken for the remaining candidate, but without

success. On the fourth ballot, however, George W. Jones was chosen by a vote of twenty-eight to ten over his nearest competitor, Thomas S. Wilson. The other persons voted for during the caucus were: Ver Planck Van Antwerp, Stephen Hempstead, ——— Smith, Joseph Williams, Philip B. Bradley, and Charles Mason.[63]

"As soon as the caucus adjourned, after the nomination of senators", related the secretary of the caucus many years later, "General Jones, who was present, in his usual impulsive and generous manner, cried out, 'Come, boys — friends, everybody — let's go and have some refreshments.' . . . Being of the refreshment class myself, I proceeded to hunt up that establishment. I found it located on the northeast corner of the public square, and to be what was then called a first-class restaurant, with whiskey-shop in connection. As a matter of course, as the invitation was general, the crowd was not very select. Friends, foes, old men, young men, members of the legislature and lobbyists, boys, gamblers — in short, every class was represented, from the governor of the state down to the rag-tag and bob-tail of the city."

Candidate Jones urged the crowd to call for anything they wanted, and in emphatic language expressed his supreme disregard for expenses. He was taken at his word; some called "for stewed oysters and some for raw ones, some for 'whiskey straight' and others for hot toddy and 'Tom and Jerry.'" With singing and uproarious noise the

celebration continued. It was suddenly discovered that Dodge was not present, and a committee was despatched to find him. When he appeared upon the scene he apparently did not approve of the proceeding for he declared to Jones that "this looks more like an entertainment for the *rabble* than for friends, and, besides, this eating of oysters out of the can, with every one with a can in his hand is a fearful waste of *raw* material." Dodge's remonstrances were in vain, however, "and the result was a bill of between four and five hundred dollars for Dodge and Jones to foot the next day."[64]

No faithful chronicler has made public the record of the Whig caucus, if any there was, but it is evident that the Whigs in the legislature agreed to give the empty compliment of their support to William H. Wallace and Ralph P. Lowe. Whether there were other prominent candidates for the nomination is not known.

Since the Democrats had a majority of sixteen in the House and a majority of three in the Senate, there was little difficulty in determining on the time for holding a joint convention. At two o'clock on the afternoon of December 7, 1848, the two houses met in the hall of the House of Representatives, where were gathered many friends of the various candidates. This time, however, there was not the breathless excitement of two years before, for the element of uncertainty was lacking. A Democratic victory could be the only possible result.

The roll was called by the secretary and every

member was found to be present. Tellers were then appointed, and nominations for Senators were in order. Philip B. Bradley nominated Augustus Caesar Dodge and Hugh R. Thompson announced William H. Wallace as the choice of the Whigs. When the votes were counted it was found that Augustus Caesar Dodge had received thirty-eight, just twice the number received by his opponent, and he was declared "duly elected a Senator to represent the State of Iowa in the Senate of the United States." C. J. McFarland then nominated George W. Jones and Francis Springer presented the name of Ralph P. Lowe. The roll was called a second time and the vote stood thirty-eight to nineteen in favor of George W. Jones. After electing Judges of the Supreme Court, with the same majorities in favor of the Democratic candidates, the convention adjourned until the following day when it reassembled to witness the signing and attesting of the certificates of election of the Senators and Judges.[65]

Thus, after two years of unrepresented statehood the voice of Iowa was at last to be heard in the Senate of the United States. Dodge and Jones hastening to the National capital with their certificates of election and credentials were presented in the Senate on December 26, 1848, and took the seats assigned to them. The classification of the two new Senators was then determined by lot. George W. Jones drew the long term which would expire on March 3, 1853; while the term drawn by Augustus Caesar Dodge was to end on March 3, 1849.[66]

When it became known at Iowa City that Dodge's term would expire the following March, the General Assembly, still in session, met in joint convention and reëlected him for a term of six years beginning March 4, 1849. The other candidates at this time were Francis Springer and Evan Jay, the former receiving fifteen votes and the latter one vote; while Augustus Caesar Dodge was the name pronounced by thirty-six members.[67]

One evening not long after the second election of Augustus Caesar Dodge, the Senate chamber in the Old Stone Capitol presented a strange appearance. The desks had all been removed and the dignified legislative hall had been transformed into a ballroom. Dodge had written from Washington and had directed that a ball be given at his expense to the members of the legislature and other prominent people.[68] And so amid the music and friendly good will of one of the most brilliant social events the capital city had ever witnessed there was forgotten the bitterness of the long contest over the United States senatorships.

II

THE ELECTION OF GEORGE W. JONES IN 1852

It was not until the fall of 1852 that the choice of a United States Senator again became a topic of public interest. By November of that year, however, the prospect of an election in the near future had brought a number of aspiring candidates into the field, principally from the ranks of the Democratic party. "Already several names have been mentioned in connection with this important post", wrote a Fairfield editor of the Whig persuasion, "but as that matter is entirely in the hands of the Democracy we shall only be a looker on in Venice." At the same time he deemed that it would not be considered presumptuous in him "to express the hope that the present ginger-bread incumbent should not be again returned, while we have plenty of much better men in the State who would fill the place with honor and dignity."[69] It is very apparent from the tenor of these remarks that the Whigs had little hope of electing a man from their own party.

Opposition to George W. Jones, whose term was to expire March 3, 1853, developed early and took the most violent form. Few men in the history of Iowa have been the object of such cutting vitupera-

tion as was heaped upon Senator Jones during this contest and throughout the remainder of his official career. Furthermore, the condemnation did not emanate merely from the Whigs, who seemed to be bending all their energies in an attempt to discredit Jones in the eyes of his followers. James M. Morgan, editor of the *Burlington Daily Telegraph,* who called himself a Democrat, though his paper was professedly neutral, had become involved in a bitter personal quarrel with the Dubuque Senator. The following is only a fair sample of the attacks upon Jones which appeared in his columns:

Jones' friends, if he have any left, will soon be compelled to give him up in disgust, unless indeed they are prepared to put up with any amount of folly, littleness, and shamelessness on the part of their favorite. Conscious of his utter unworthiness in every sense for the position which he occupies — conscious that his first election was a fraud upon his party, and that he never merited the place by reason of any service performed — conscious of his incapacity to perform any act calculated to reflect any credit, even the smallest upon the State — and conscious of the fact that the people of Iowa are rapidly finding him out as the smallest potato in the whole political hill, and that his chances for re-election must wane accordingly, he is ready to stoop to any trick no odds how low, to make any pledges no odds how dishonorable, and to instigate and encourage any slander, no odds how false or ridiculous. It is a mortifying reflection that so high a position should be made the plaything of unprincipled political gamblers — and it is not less mortifying that one occupying the place of U. S. Senator should be found at all times ready to prostitute himself

to the commission of the lowest acts for the sake of "*slipping up*" on an office which neither nature nor nature's God ever intended him to occupy.[70]

It was freely predicted that Jones and his friends would resort to bribery and corruption of every sort to secure a reëlection. "Jones and his crew will go to Iowa City prepared for a death struggle", was the forecast. "It is his last chance, and he will 'go his pile' with the desperation of a black leg reduced to his last trump. Money will be freely spent, as it has been already, and offices without limit, in and out of the State, will be promised wherever it may be safe to offer the tempting bait. . . . In a word, we may look for a contest the most desperate in character, and the most corrupt in its appliances, that has ever been attempted in this or any other State."[71]

Much capital was made, especially in the southern part of the State, out of Senator Jones's attitude toward railroad and river improvement bills in Congress. It was charged that he was partial to his section of the State and that he neglected the interests of his southern constituents. His action on the floor of the Senate and in committees was reviewed in great detail, and every effort was made to arouse the sectional antagonism of the southern members of the legislature.[72]

It was not alone in the southern part of the State that George W. Jones met with opposition. Right within his own stronghold at Dubuque he had many bitter enemies. In this case, however, personal ani-

mosity, rather than the displeasing actions of Jones in Congress, was the cause of the opposition, which seems to have originated late in the year 1850. At that time, or not long afterward, a clique in which D. A. Mahoney was one of the leading spirits founded the *Dubuque Herald,* a paper supposedly neutral in politics, but which, it appears, was established mainly for the purpose of fighting Jones.[73]

Thus the storm raged about the person of George W. Jones for a month or more preceding the meeting of the General Assembly. The claims of other aspirants for the senatorship were given scant attention by the public at large, if the newspapers of the day may be taken as a trustworthy index. The Whigs were so clearly in the minority that the best they could hope for was the election of a Democrat not entirely distasteful to them; while the rival candidates in the Democratic party hesitated to announce themselves in the race against such a strong opponent as Senator Jones.

Congress and the Fourth General Assembly of Iowa opened on the same day — December 6, 1852. Senator George W. Jones, instead of repairing to his post of duty at Washington, remained at Iowa City, thereby laying himself open to merited criticism. "Senator Jones is not at Washington, where he should be, attending to his public duty," declared his implacable enemy at Burlington, "but is at Iowa City 'legging' for the Senate, and receiving his eight dollars a day just like a top!"[74] "A dependent for twenty years upon the spoils of place for a

subsistence, and rendered disgustingly vain by the distinction which position gives, G. W. Jones is the last man in this world who would leave a stone unturned to keep himself in office. What to him are the interests of the State, when the old habit is upon him? . . . What to him is a solemn oath of official faithfulness, when he has oaths of another character to utter in furtherance of his re-election?"[75]

About this time there was published at Dubuque a forty page pamphlet containing a eulogistic sketch of the life and services of George W. Jones. It was doubtless intended as a campaign document, as the members of the legislature seem to have each been favored with a copy. Here again was opportunity for ridicule from the Jones opposition. The pamphlet was referred to as "an awful dose" to force upon the "unhappy wights" in the legislature, who in addition to all their other troubles were now "called upon to wade through 40 mortal pages to find out who killed Cock Robin!"[76]

The convening of the General Assembly concentrated at Iowa City all the struggling forces in the senatorial contest. "Jones and his crew, Wilson and his friends, and Clark and his friends are having a regular Kilkenny-cat fight of it", wrote a correspondent to the *Fairfield Ledger*. Lincoln Clark was laughed at by his opponents in the Jones camp because he travelled "away back to the forests of Lebanon, the ancient ruins of Ninevah, to Jerusalem and the Plains of Joppa for his facts." Jones, on

the other hand, was held up to scorn because of the free use of profanity which characterized his canvass for the senatorship.[77]

An Iowa City correspondent to a Muscatine paper, writing on the day before the meeting of the legislature, stated that the most prominent Democratic rivals of George W. Jones were Stephen Hempstead, Joseph Williams, Thomas S. Wilson, James Grant, E. W. Johnson, and Ver Planck Van Antwerp. Some of these men had announced themselves as candidates and were making a strenuous fight, while others had merely been mentioned by their friends. It seemed probable at that time that the Whigs would give the compliment of the minority vote to Gen. Sargeant.[78]

"The feeling is exceedingly bitter," wrote the correspondent, "frequent bickerings disturb the public mind — one personal collision, rather a fierce and protracted one, has occurred, but without any serious consequences, except black eyes and scratched faces. The steel was not drawn, until the belligerents were apart, and at safe distances. It is understood that both parties carry the cutlery, and are prepared for any emergency." The southern Democrats were somewhat disposed to laugh at the Dubuque candidates for furnishing an exciting entertainment. "So great is the outside pressure", continued the amused observer, "that the Legislature would have collapsed before this, had it not been made of pretty stern stuff."[79]

The struggle between the Jones forces and the

opposition was so sharp that it was not until December 20th that the Democrats could agree to meet in caucus. Although Congress had been in session two weeks, Senator Jones remained at Iowa City determined to see the end of the contest. A bit of doggerel printed in a Burlington newspaper about this time is a satirical comment upon Jones's well known fastidiousness in matters of dress and personal appearance, intended no doubt to influence the plain and unostentatious members of the legislature against the Senator. The last verse runs:

> 'Tis not cologne, nor whiskers, nor clothes,
> Or jewelled fingers, or nimble toes,
> That wins the public trust;
> And no aspiring political elf,
> Incapable e'en to take care of himself,
> Should e'er be permitted to handle our pelf,
> Or finger the national dust.[80]

At the Democratic caucus on the evening of December 20, 1852, George W. Jones received thirty votes, a majority of one and was declared the candidate of the party for United States Senator. The twenty-nine opposing votes were divided between ten different men.[81] In spite of the bitterness which existed those who expected a stormy session were disappointed. The nomination was made on the first ballot, and the business of the caucus was conducted in a quiet, orderly manner.[82]

The Democrats had a clear majority in both branches of the General Assembly, and hence there was no difficulty in determining upon a satisfactory

time for holding a joint convention after the nomination had been made. At three o'clock on the afternoon of December 21st the two houses assembled in the hall of the House of Representatives; and in the evening Warner Lewis was able to write to his friend George W. Jones and inform him that "the long hoped for object" had been gained. "Every democrat, save one, stood up to the fodder", said Lewis.[83] The vote stood, fifty-nine for Jones, and thirty-one for George G. Wright, who was the choice of the Whigs. Whether Wright had been chosen in caucus or agreed upon by mutual consent is not known. Benjamin Green, the one Democrat who did not stand "up to the fodder", cast his vote for John F. Kinney. Three members were absent or not voting. After the result was announced a certificate of election was drawn up and signed, and the joint convention dissolved.[84]

George W. Jones, having ample assurance that he would be reëlected to his seat in the United States Senate made arrangements for a supper to be given to the legislature at his expense, and at noon on December 21st made his tardy departure for Washington.[85] He appeared in the Senate on January 3, 1853, and on January 11th his credentials of election for the term of six years beginning March 4, 1853, were presented by his colleague, Augustus Caesar Dodge.[86]

"The Die is Cast, and the State Disgraced!" was the headline over an editorial in the bitterly anti-Jones *Burlington Daily Telegraph,* in which the

editor lamented over the fact that the State was "saddled for a second time with one of its least competent citizens as a Senator in Congress." The people of the State, he went on to say, were overwhelmingly opposed to Jones, and his election was a subversion of the popular will. "As a citizen", was his parting shot, "we regret the disgrace which the election of such a man must bring upon the State — as a democrat, we feel that his success is a bribe held out in advance to men to turn *bolters* and violate every principle and usage of the party — and as a man, we deplore the degeneracy of the human species when such a specimen is put up as a leader among *men*!"[87]

III

THE FIRST ELECTION OF JAMES HARLAN

The contest which culminated in January, 1855, in the election of James Harlan to succeed Augustus Caesar Dodge in the United States Senate is in many respects the most interesting senatorial election in the history of Iowa. The fight was long and bitter, and the result was accomplished in an unusual manner. But the chief significance of the election lies in the fact that it was at the same time an integral part of the great political revolution which was stirring the Nation to its depths. For the first time national questions played an important part in the choice of a Senator from Iowa.

The year 1854 witnessed events and movements which in their immediate importance and in their consequences make it a significant date in our national history. Four years earlier Henry Clay's compromise measures had averted impending disaster, and people deluded themselves with the vain hope that the question of slavery had been settled for all time. In their national platforms of 1852 both the Whigs and the Democrats had vigorously supported the compromise, including the Fugitive Slave Law; and all attempts to reopen the wound were deprecated on all sides. But in 1854 Stephen

A. Douglas and his Kansas-Nebraska Act, with its repeal of the time-honored Missouri Compromise, rudely dispelled all hopes of a peaceful settlement of the slavery controversy. "It is safe to say that, in the scope and consequences of the Kansas-Nebraska act, it was the most momentous measure that passed Congress from the day that the senators and representatives first met to the outbreak of the civil war. It sealed the doom of the Whig party; it caused the formation of the Republican party on the principle of no extension of slavery; it roused Lincoln and gave a bent to his great political ambition. It made the Fugitive Slave law a dead letter at the North; it caused the Germans to become Republicans; it lost the Democrats their hold on New England; it made the Northwest Republican; it led to the downfall of the Democratic party."[88]

The passing of the Kansas-Nebraska Act was the signal for a coalition of all the factions opposed to the extension of slavery. Free Soilers, Abolitionists, Know-Nothings, and large numbers of Northern Whigs and Democrats found common ground in their opposition to the doctrines embodied in the ill-fated law. The time was ripe for a new political party whose cardinal principle should be resistance to the further encroachment of the slave power. Consequently when a body of Wisconsin citizens met at Ripon in the spring of 1854, and later a similar meeting held "under the oaks" at Jackson, Michigan, proposed the formation of a new party to be called

"Republican" the suggestion met with immediate favor, especially in the West.

The weighty events of the year 1854 made a profound impression on the people of Iowa. And it was from Iowa that there came the first tangible indication of the new movement of opposition to the doctrines of Stephen A. Douglas. Here, as in the country at large, the reaction against the Kansas-Nebraska Act resulted in the amalgamation of the Whigs and Free Soilers. The combination proved too strong for the Democrats who had been in control since the organization of the Territory. At the August election James W. Grimes, a Whig of pronounced anti-slavery principles, was chosen Governor by a majority of over two thousand votes.[89]

Thus the election of James Harlan in 1855 is not only an important and interesting episode in the political history of Iowa, but it was also one of the earliest steps in the rise of the Republican party. Its true significance can be understood only in the light of the larger movement of which it was a part.

The feverish excitement which prevailed throughout the entire country was well exemplified in Iowa in the campaign for the election of State officers and members of the legislature in 1854. The vanguard of the great tide of immigration from New England and the States north of the Ohio, which a few months later broke across the Mississippi and spread out over the prairies of Iowa, was already making itself felt as a new moral force in the State. Religious enthusiasm, prohibition agitation, and kindred mani-

festations characterized the period. But the Kansas-Nebraska Act was the theme of discussion which overshadowed all others, and the newcomers were almost a unit in opposition to its doctrines.

Consequently, with great national problems to be solved, both of the leading political parties in Iowa went into the campaign with the determination to elect a legislature which would choose a United States Senator who would represent their views on the all-absorbing question of the day. The Whigs were especially anxious that Augustus Caesar Dodge should be succeeded by an anti-Nebraska man. In Jefferson County, for instance, a prominent Whig editor urged his fellow partisans to turn out and vote for Whig legislators in order to defeat Dodge and insure the election of a man who would favor a repeal of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.[90] After the election another editor in the southern part of the State, where the desire to displace Dodge was especially strong, rejoiced that "in any event, there will be a majority of Anti-Nebraska and Anti-Dodge men in the Legislature, thus rendering the great Augustus Caesar's *cake dough,* and securing the election of one more favorable to the restoration of the Compromise, to the U. S. Senate."[91]

At the August election, as has already been stated, James W. Grimes was chosen Governor by a combination of all the factions opposed to the Nebraska measure. The Democrats secured a majority of one in the Senate which was composed of thirty-one members; while the Whigs elected forty out of

the seventy Representatives, giving them a majority on joint ballot. Thus at one blow the control of the Democratic party was overthrown, and a new party which was soon to designate itself Republican was ushered into power.

"This political revolution seemed to open the way for the transfer of many desirable official positions from the Democracy to the possession of members of this new organization, which the latter were not reluctant to acquire", wrote one who was among the first to reap the benefits of the new régime. "The most coveted of these official 'plums' were the three Judgeships constituting the Supreme Court of the State, and one seat in the Senate of the United States, then occupied by Hon. Augustus C. Dodge, whose term of service would expire March 4th, 1855."[92]

The epidemic of office-seeking which always accompanies a change of administration, and especially a transfer of power from one political party to another, followed the August election. Among those who had contributed their share toward bringing in the new era were to be found many who looked for reward in political preferment. The United States senatorship was naturally the prize which tempted the more ambitious, and candidates for the position early announced themselves or were brought before the public by their friends.

One of the first to enter the lists was Fitz Henry Warren, a leading banker in Burlington. He had come to the Territory in 1844 and from the first had

taken a prominent part in politics, acting as delegate to party conventions, drawing up platforms, and conducting campaign work. He had served as First Assistant Postmaster General under President Fillmore, and as a member of the Whig National Committee in the campaign of 1852, thus gaining a wide acquaintance among the politicians of the country. "It was, therefore, natural", wrote a contemporary in after years, "that now when the party for which he had worked so zealously and successfully, had achieved a signal triumph, and was able to reward a few of its leaders, he should be selected for the first prize."[93]

Fitz Henry Warren, however, was by no means acceptable in all parts of the State. His candidacy was particularly displeasing to the editor of a neutral paper at Dubuque, who expressed his disapproval by remarking that to elect Warren as Senator would be "a depth of degradation, by the way that we never anticipated this State would reach, no matter into whose clutches the State Government should fall."[94] The editor preferred Milton D. Browning, also a Burlington aspirant for the senatorship, although a much less prominent man than his fellow townsman. He was approved of as being a sound Whig, even though he was distasteful to "the abolitionized portion of the Whig party."[95]

Meanwhile, Warren's prospects continued to grow brighter, and in spite of the revilings of bitter enemies he was the most promising candidate for

the Whig nomination during the earlier weeks of the contest. He pushed his campaign with all the skill of the practiced politician; while Daniel F. Miller traversed the State in his interest, visiting members of the legislature and endeavoring to work up public sentiment in favor of his chief.[96]

The Democrats were less active than their opponents, since there was very little hope of electing a Democratic Senator. Naturally the friends of Augustus Caesar Dodge were anxious that he should be returned, and he was very generally supported by his party throughout the State. Although the Democrats did not control the General Assembly it was nevertheless suggested that since they had a majority in the Senate they could prevent the choice of a Whig "by a factious refusal to go into an election."[97] Even Dodge himself seems to have favored this not altogether laudable proposal. "I have no more idea of being elected by the Legislature soon to convene", he wrote to a friend about the middle of November, "than I have that it will choose the Czar Nicholas of Russia to represent Iowa in the Senate. The great object to be attained by democrats should be to prevent an election. Far better to be unrepresented than *mis*represented. . . . Both parties in our State are committed to the principle by precedent at least, to defeat an election of Senators and Judges, if they can do so: vide the failures of 1846 & 1847."[98]

It was not until shortly before the meeting of the legislature that the name of James Harlan of Mt.

Pleasant, began to be used in connection with the senatorship. And then it was only after earnest solicitation on the part of his friends that he permitted himself to be spoken of as a candidate for a position which he felt himself poorly qualified to fill. As a college president and as Superintendent of Public Instruction he had been very successful and had made for himself a wide circle of acquaintances. But his training had not been of the character usually considered requisite for holding a seat in the Senate of the United States. He had never been a politician in the sense of making office-holding his business.

"I had not thought of the position as either possible or desirable for me", wrote James Harlan many years later when recording his recollections of this contest which was such an important event in his life. "My name had never, at any time, been coupled with it in my own thoughts, or as far as I then knew by any body else, until a short time before the date fixed by law for the assembling of the members of the General Assembly . . . . when Colonel Laurin Dewey, of Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, in a private conversation with me, casually remarked that I ought to be the next United States Senator from our State. I was both surprised and annoyed. It seemed to me an attempt at flattery too extravagant to be agreeable, which I could not understand, coming from him."[99]

Laurin Dewey then proceeded to say that Fitz Henry Warren, who was at that time the leading

Whig aspirant, could not be elected. The Democrats in both houses naturally would oppose him, and he could not be elected without receiving the united support of all the "Anti-Kansas Nebraska" members of the legislature. This would be impossible since many of the old line Whigs had combined against Warren. The conversation ended at this point, apparently without any statement from Harlan as to whether or not he desired to enter the senatorial race.

A few days later Harlan received a visit from Alvin Saunders, State Senator elect from Henry County, who desired to talk with him concerning the senatorial situation. Saunders corroborated the statement made by Laurin Dewey to the effect that the old line Whigs would not support Fitz Henry Warren and expressed the belief that some other Whig would stand a better chance of being elected. Consequently he had come to ask Harlan if he would accept the position if it should be found that the way was open. "I responded that I was not a candidate"; runs James Harlan's own account of the conversation, "had not supposed that my name would ever be mentioned in that connection, nor had I given the matter a moment's thought."

Mr. Saunders said that he had supposed this to be the case, and that he was not at all certain that it would be possible to secure Harlan's nomination. "But if it should", he asked, "and we should think it best to give the place to you, would you accept it?" "Well", was the reply, "Colonel Saunders, I

think it safe to answer that question in the affirmative."[100] Thus, in striking contrast to the self-assertiveness of some of the candidates for the senatorship, James Harlan was finally led to give his consent to the use of his name in the caucuses of his party.

By the first of December a formidable number of candidates had announced themselves or had been mentioned by their friends. A correspondent to a Dubuque paper, writing from Iowa City a few days before the meeting of the General Assembly, stated that only a few of the legislators had arrived, but that the "working friends" of the various senatorial aspirants were present in full force and were maneuvering for their favorites. Fitz Henry Warren and Ebenezer Cook, stated the correspondent, were the most prominent candidates, but in his estimation the fact that they were both bankers and supposedly had plenty of money to spend, brought them "more prominently before that portion of their party who worship Mammon, than individuals who under other circumstances would probably be held in higher esteem" than either of them. Timothy Davis of Dubuque was mentioned as a possibility. "Governor Grimes, who is here, is thought not to be a candidate," continued the writer, "but the wiser ones think that he would not refuse the Senatorship, if it were tendered to him."[101]

The following day, December 2nd, the same correspondent wrote that quite a number of the legislators were in Iowa City, and that the canvass

for the senatorship was becoming "warm, excited and somewhat virulent". It was not thought that George G. Wright would enter the race, but if he should, the opinion was expressed that he would be a "most formidable competitor".[102] John P. Cook, Jacob Butler, Stephen Whicher, Francis Springer, Henry W. Starr, Joseph H. D. Street, Stephen B. Shelladay, Jesse Bowen, and Milton D. Browning were all men who were urged, each by a loyal coterie of admirers, as worthy of the Whig nomination for the senatorship.[103] James Harlan does not seem to have been prominently mentioned until a week or more later. His friends doubtless considered it advisable to work quietly until they had the assurance of strong support for their candidate.

The General Assembly convened at Iowa City on December 4, 1854. Eight days later a resolution was passed in the House of Representatives providing for a joint convention at two o'clock on the afternoon of Friday, December 15, for the purpose of electing United States Senator and Supreme Court Judges.[104] A newspaper correspondent looked upon this resolution as a piece of folly. "The Senate will not concur at this time", he said, "and the house knows it, but they will continually introduce such a resolution merely to ascertain whether the whigs have a majority. It looks as though they were a little suspicious of the genuineness of some of the members of their party. Somebody is frightened!"[105]

It was generally understood that the Whigs would hold a caucus on the evening of December

12th, and the contest seemed to be narrowed down to Fitz Henry Warren and Ebenezer Cook, with the best chances in favor of Warren. Nevertheless it was thought that the caucus would be a stormy one, and some people predicted that it would break up in a row.[106] There were two factions in the Whig party. One was composed of men who clung to the declarations supporting the compromise measures of 1850 made by their party in the presidential campaign of 1852 and who called themselves National Whigs. The other faction, which was by far the larger, was made up of all the elements opposed to slavery extension and styled itself the Anti-Nebraska party.

"Some few national whigs may bolt, if the caucus should not adopt the whig Baltimore Platform which I understand some one will offer for adoption", wrote one observer. "On this rock, the Anti-Nebraska party may split, but my own opinion of them is that if it be necessary to carry their point — the nomination of Mr. Warren — they will not hesitate about adopting that platform, even if they should split upon it the moment after it has served their purpose. By adopting this platform the Anti-Nebraska folks would completely turn the table upon the National whigs."[107]

For some reason, however, the Whig caucus was not held on the evening of December 12th. This fact may partially explain the unexpected action of the Senate on the next day. The House resolution favoring a joint convention was brought up for con-

sideration during the morning, and by a unanimous vote the resolution was so amended as to provide for holding the convention that afternoon, instead of on the following Friday.[108] It may have been that the Democrats, who had a majority of one in the Senate, thought that by holding the convention while the Whigs were still unorganized they might secure the election of a man of whose principles they could approve, even though he might not be a full-fledged Democrat. And of course the Whigs in the Senate as well as in the House were very willing to hold the convention at any time on which the Democrats should agree.

The House concurred in the Senate's amendment, and at two-thirty on the afternoon of Wednesday, December 13, 1854, the "President and members of the Senate preceded by their Secretary and Sergeant at-Arms, entered the Hall of the House of Representatives, and having been duly announced, took the seats assigned them."[109] The roll was called by the Secretary. One Whig Representative was found absent and was excused. Tellers were appointed, and nominations for Senator were in order.

The lack of harmony or of definite understanding in the ranks of both parties was now very apparent. Fourteen different members of the legislature arose and nominated as many different men for United States Senator. The men whose names were thus proposed for the consideration of the joint convention in the order of their nomination were: Augustus

Caesar Dodge, Enoch W. Eastman, James B. Howell, Edward Johnstone, Joseph H. D. Street, James Harlan, Thomas W. Claggett, Jacob Butler, Thomas H. Benton, Jr., Stephen B. Shelladay, George G. Wright, Joseph Williams, Fitz Henry Warren, and Ebenezer Cook.[110] Of these fourteen nominees, Dodge, Eastman, Johnstone, Benton, and Williams were Democrats; while the remaining nine were identified with one or the other faction in the Whig party.

When the votes were counted it was found that no one had a majority. Fifty votes were necessary to elect, and Augustus Caesar Dodge, who headed the list, received only twenty-nine. Fitz Henry Warren followed with sixteen votes. Edward Johnstone had eleven, James B. Howell nine, and Ebenezer Cook seven. Nobody else received over five votes; and it should be noted that James Harlan received only four.[111]

After the failure of the first attempt to elect, two unsuccessful efforts were made to adjourn and then a second vote was taken. This time only nine of the candidates received votes. Augustus Caesar Dodge had the same number of votes as before. Fitz Henry Warren, Edward Johnstone, and Ebenezer Cook each gained slightly; while James Harlan received twelve votes, thus placing him among the more prominent candidates. But again there was no election; and so after some little disagreement the joint convention adjourned until ten o'clock the following morning.[112]

Both parties naturally realized that it would be useless to go into another session of the joint convention without determining upon the men whom they would support for the senatorship. Consequently caucuses were held that evening (December 13th). It is apparent that the majority of the Democrats agreed to vote for Augustus Caesar Dodge, but the record of their deliberations has not been found. The action of the Whig or Anti-Nebraska caucus, however, was a great surprise. It had been confidently expected that either Fitz Henry Warren or Ebenezer Cook would receive the nomination. In fact the National Whigs refused to attend the caucus, because they felt certain that Warren would be nominated and they would be obliged to support him if they took part in the proceedings.[113] Six ineffectual ballots were taken in the caucus; but on the seventh ballot James Harlan, whose chances until this evening had not been promising, received twenty-nine votes. This was a majority of all the Whigs in the legislature and Harlan was declared the nominee of the party.[114]

To James Harlan the nomination seems to have been as unlooked for as it was surprising to the general public. "Hence the reader may judge of my surprise", he wrote in his autobiographical sketch, "when, a few days subsequent to the meeting of the Legislature at Iowa City, happening to meet Col. Asbury B. Porter, R. L. B. Clark, and Chancey Nash, all three of Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, who, being on their way home from Iowa City, halted the horses on

which they were riding, and saluting, informed me of my 'nomination, by a Legislative caucus of Anti Kansas-Nebraska Members, on the evening of December thirteenth, (13th,) 1854, for a seat in the U. S. Senate!' "

"The above named gentlemen", continued Harlan, "had been to Iowa City in the interest of the election of Fitz Henry Warren, and, of course, were not elated over the result, altho friends and townsmen of mine. . . . And they informed me that 'after my nomination he [Warren] advised all his friends to support me, and if possible to secure my election; that he believed it to be possible; and that if he had been nominated he would have found some way to reconcile the bolting Whigs; but that he did not know whether I could do so or not.' "[115]

The nomination of James Harlan must have been a severe blow to Fitz Henry Warren, whose services to his party had fully justified the high hopes which he had entertained of receiving this rich reward. The manner in which he bore his defeat, and the hearty support he accorded his successful rival must ever be remembered to the credit of a man who was not always free from criticism.

The general opinion was that Harlan had been chosen in the hope of conciliating the National Whigs, who were bitterly opposed to Warren. But the keenest observers doubted whether Harlan would be any more acceptable, and succeeding events proved their doubts well grounded.[116] One writer attributes Harlan's nomination to the fact that in

his campaign against Thomas H. Benton, Jr. in 1848 for the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction he had been cheated out of what rightfully belonged to him. "This was felt to be an outrage by a large number of people irrespective of party," says the writer, "and the result was to bring the injured party prominently before the Fifth General Assembly as a candidate for United States senator. Had it not been for this circumstance, Fitz Henry Warren would in all probability have received the distinction of being the first Whig or Republican United States senator from Iowa."[117] This view of the case, however, has little basis for acceptance.

The joint convention reassembled on the morning of Thursday, December 14th. In spite of the fact that both parties had held a caucus the night before, five men were nominated for the senatorship. Edward Johnstone's name was again mentioned, although Augustus Caesar Dodge was clearly the choice of the majority of the Democrats. James Harlan was nominated without any opposition from the Anti-Nebraska Whigs, but the National faction, still bolting, rallied around Ebenezer Cook. The fifth name was that of Joseph H. D. Street, a Whig, though of which branch it is difficult to determine.[118]

When the nominations had been made Milton D. Browning of Des Moines County suggested that the candidates for the senatorship "be interrogated relative to their views upon various national topics."[119] This was the beginning of a series of petty maneuverings by which Browning endeavored to

work up a boom for himself for the coveted position. He expressed a desire to know whether the candidates were sound on the great compromises of 1820 and 1850. "This led to a lively debate, and crossfire of questions, in the course of which it was stated by Mr. Russell, that Mr. Harlan . . . . was in favor of amending the fugitive slave law." Furthermore, Harlan was charged by some of the National Whigs with being a strong abolitionist and opposed to the compromise of 1850.[120] In the midst of this aimless discussion a motion was made to adjourn until the following Thursday, and it was adopted by a vote of fifty to forty-nine.[121]

"There is no knowing what will be done", wrote Samuel McFarland to James Harlan after the joint convention had adjourned. "The Locos & Browning are moving heaven and earth to defeat any good Whig. . . . If we could have got a ballot this morning, I think you would have been elected. All the Warren men in fact every one in the caucus were right in for you. Warren, himself, and his friends said you were the nominee, and they were for you — they act like men."[122]

Indeed, the prospect of electing a Senator seemed more uncertain than ever after this second fruitless attempt. Factional strife, jealousy, and conflicting personal ambitions all combined to destroy harmony in either party, but especially among the Whigs. "The Woolies are determined that no one but a Wooly shall be elected to the Senate by their votes", wrote a newspaper correspondent. "The National

Whigs are as equally determined that no man who is not sound upon the compromises shall receive their votes for Senator." The Democrats, on the other hand, he declared, "are determined to preserve intact the identity of the democratic party of Iowa and therefore will not *fuse* with the national whigs."[123]

James Harlan received letters from friends at Iowa City informing him that the joint convention had adjourned, ostensibly for the purpose of learning his views on the slavery question, but that in fact it was a part of a movement to defeat him if possible. He was warned that he would be questioned as to his opinion regarding the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, and although his friends did not wish him to compromise, they urged him not to fatally commit himself to any radical views on the subject.[124] Shortly afterward Harlan received a formal letter signed by eleven members of the House of Representatives, submitting to him a list of questions which he was requested to answer in order that his attitude might be known at the next meeting of the joint convention. These questions which were nine in number were designed to bring out Harlan's views on the Fugitive Slave Law, the further agitation of the slavery question, the "higher law" doctrine of Seward, the constitutional power of Congress to admit slave States, and the binding force of the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States.[125]

"Of course", wrote Harlan in his autobiography, "I knew that the foregoing interrogatories had been

prepared and presented to me . . . . simply as a political trap: that the signers did not intend to vote for me in any contingency. They, no doubt, thought that *any* answer that it might be possible for me to give would aid them in securing my defeat, and open the way for the election of either a democrat or pro slavery Whig".[126]

Harlan therefore chose the course of wisdom and decided to make no public response whatever to these questions. Instead he went to Iowa City in order, as he said, to "give any one who might desire it an opportunity to interview me personally, face to face." At the same time he carefully drew up a formal reply to be used in case anyone desired to interview him. This reply was worthy of an accomplished statesman, for it neither committed its author to any particular position, nor laid him open to criticism for avoiding the issue entirely. But Harlan seems to have had little use for his reply, for he states that "as I had expected, the authors of the interrogatories had nothing to say, and carefully kept out of my way."[127]

When the joint convention met for the third time on December 21, 1854, the spirit of discord was still in evidence. The convention opened propitiously enough with only three nominations: Augustus Caesar Dodge, Ebenezer Cook, and James Harlan. A vote was taken and Harlan received forty-seven votes, Dodge forty-three, and Cook seven, while one vote was given to Edward Johnstone. Although no one had received a majority of the votes cast the

result seemed to augur the early election of James Harlan, since only fifty votes were necessary to a choice. But all hopes soon went glimmering. A motion was made to temporarily suspend the election of United States Senator and vote for Supreme Court Judges, but it was defeated. An unsuccessful attempt was made to adjourn until the third of January. The names of Thomas W. Claggett, Joseph H. D. Street, Jacob Butler, and Bernhart Henn were then added to the list of nominees, Augustus Caesar Dodge's name was withdrawn, and another vote was taken. This time Harlan dropped to forty-one, while Ebenezer Cook received eighteen votes. Again there was no majority and the convention adjourned until three o'clock that afternoon.[128]

The list of nominees received the addition of the name of Thomas H. Benton, Jr. at the afternoon session. Milton D. Browning was also nominated, but at his request his name was withdrawn. When the votes were counted James Harlan was found to have forty-five, Ebenezer Cook forty-four, P. Gad Bryan seven, Joseph H. D. Street one, and Thomas H. Benton, Jr. one. The Democrats, with only a few exceptions, supported Ebenezer Cook, the National Whig candidate, who since the withdrawal of Dodge from the contest was the most nearly in accord with their views. The convention then adjourned until the fifth of January. Five times the vote had been taken for Senator and each time the possibility of an election seemed more distant.[129]

The recess was a period filled with the maneuv-

erings of candidates for the senatorship, and much interest was manifested in the contest throughout the State. The failure to secure an election thus far was a source of gratification to the Democrats. "There is yet some leaven left amid the incongruous elements of which the major part of the present General Assembly is composed", exulted a Democratic editor. "This fact is attested by the failure of the woolly heads to elect their caucus candidate, Mr. Harlan, on the recent balloting for U. S. Senator. The ballots then and there cast prove that the Iowa Legislature is not all abolition, or even the Whig portion of it. And we trust that the fair fame of the State will not be stained by the election to the responsible position of Senator, of any politician of the Garrison school."[130]

The Anti-Nebraska people, on the other hand, were very much disgusted with the way things were going. A prominent editor at Burlington devoted considerable time and space to reviewing the situation. Harlan's election, he declared, had been prevented "by traitors in the Whig camp who, under the specious guise of National Whiggery, are dallying with the Locofoco party." "And that an arrangement has been entered into is evident from this nomination of Cook," he continued, "and from Mr. Test's nomination of Senator Browning, which was refused very much as Caesar refused the crown, though not so often."

Furthermore, the Burlington editor predicted that a bargain and sale would be carried into effect

which would result in the election of "some old fogy, one idea, Virginia Abstractionist, who disgraces the country by calling himself a 'National Whig!' Or we shall have foisted upon us an Old Hunker Democrat, of the leather-head breed, who never had but one set of ideas, all of which could be told in five words: 'Free Trade and Hard Money!' But if the thing is narrowed down to this, give us the Old Hunker Democrat we say! We want no traitors from our ranks sent to the Senate.— If we must be misrepresented, give us an out and out, up and down, dyed in the wool Locofoco. But don't send a traitor. Don't stab us in the house of our friend." Having thus vigorously stated his own attitude and that of his faction, the editor spoke in high terms of James Harlan and expressed the hope that his name would be "scrupulously adhered to until intrigue and dishonesty shall elect some other man, or render it certain that no election can be effected."[131]

Ebenezer Cook was severely criticized by the Anti-Nebraskaites for intriguing with the Democrats. It was even charged that he had promised to ignore the question of slavery in his official conduct, to vote for the admission of Kansas with slavery, and to come out as a full-fledged Democrat if the Locofocos should secure a majority in the next General Assembly. Milton D. Browning also came in for his share of animadversion because of his attempts to ingratiate himself with the Democrats. Both Cook and Browning seem to have made every effort to secure the support of the seven or eight Democrats

who had refused to vote for anyone but a member of their own party.[132]

"There has been more lying, cheating, swindling and corruption here this winter than was ever conceived of in my philosophy", wrote Governor Grimes at the end of the two-weeks interval.[133] The Governor, however, wisely held aloof from the contest and did not use his influence, at least not publicly, for any particular candidate.

On January 5, 1855, pursuant to adjournment, the joint convention again assembled for the election of United States Senator and Supreme Court Judges. Ebenezer Cook, Milton D. Browning, Joseph H. D. Street, Augustus Caesar Dodge, and James Harlan were nominated, but upon request the names of Browning, Street, and Dodge were withdrawn. The convention then voted for a sixth, seventh, and eighth time for Senator with no more effect than before. Harlan had forty-six, forty-seven, and forty-seven votes respectively, while Browning, in spite of the fact that his name had been withdrawn, received seventeen, nineteen and thirty-five votes respectively.[134] Then followed a filibustering war of motions to adjourn and to go into an election of Judges, ending finally in an adjournment until that afternoon at two o'clock. The afternoon session was devoted entirely to the election of George G. Wright and William G. Woodward as two of the Supreme Court Judges, and to a long drawn out contest for the third, in which Norman W. Isbell was the leading candidate, though he could

not secure a majority of the votes. After six ineffectual ballots the convention adjourned until the following morning.[135]

On Saturday, January 6, 1855, there was enacted in the hall of the House of Representatives a scene such as has few equals in the legislative history of Iowa. The Democrats evidently feared that Harlan would be elected Senator if the joint convention should meet again. Consequently the committee which had been sent to inform the Senate that the House was prepared to meet found that the Senate had adjourned until the following Monday by a strict party vote of sixteen to fifteen.[136] A number of Senators, however, entered the hall of the House without their president and took seats, and the speaker declared that the joint convention was in session.

The wildest confusion immediately followed this announcement. Out in the lobbies the rebellious Senators "attempted to kick up a row, but were overawed by General Brown, the House Sergeant-at-Arms."[137] Inside the hall disorder prevailed. "Members became furious, excited and mad", wrote a newspaper correspondent who was a witness of the dramatic proceedings. "Some loudly called for order. Senators and Representatives arose in all parts of the House and each endeavoring to raise their voices above the din and clamor of an excited Assembly, added to the tumult of the throng." Some declared that the joint convention was not in session because the Senate was not present as an official

body and because there was no president; while "others raised their voices to an alarming height and nominated a presiding officer." The speaker appointed a chairman and took part in the debate. "The Chairman attempted to make a speech but was called to order." "The Clerk of the House in thundering tones, which broke out like the sudden and quick report of a forty pounder", declared that he was secretary of the convention, and that nominations for a president *pro tem* were in order. "The Secretary of the Senate raised his voice as far above the roar of the thunder as is the yell of a whipped spaniel above the bray of a hungry jackass, and pronounced the whole proceedings out of order, and declared no convention in session. Loud shouts, cheers and stampings followed this decision, and all was confusion worst confounded."

After an hour or more of angry tumult the Democrats, "finding themselves outnumbered, and perceiving that the lungs of the opposition excelled their's in power and tension, gave up the fight", and all but three of them left the hall. Finally, to use the figurative expression of the correspondent, "the noisy elements subsided, the whirlwind passed by, the *dead* and wounded picked *themselves* up, and with woful countenances stared at each other", and soon there "reigned that awful silence which always follows the raging storm".[138]

The members who remained then elected William W. Hamilton, a Senator from Dubuque County, as president *pro tem.* The sergeant-at-arms was sent

to inform the absent members that the joint convention was ready to proceed to business. He reported that he had been unable to find some of the missing men, and that the others had refused to come in. Further calling of the roll was dispensed with, and a vote was taken for the remaining Judge of the Supreme Court, resulting in the election of Norman W. Isbell. Immediately afterward the convention proceeded to the election of a United States Senator. James Harlan received fifty-two votes, which was "a majority of all the votes cast, and a majority of the whole number of members of the General Assembly". He was therefore declared duly elected and a certificate of election was made out and attested.[139]

The unprecedented manner in which the election was accomplished naturally gave rise to much discussion. The joint convention was clearly extra-legal to say the least. Any intelligent interpretation of the law prescribing the manner of choosing United States Senators would have demanded that a quorum of both houses should be present, although this principle was not stated in so many words.[140] In this case not only was there not a quorum of the Senate present, but strictly speaking the Senate did not exist as an official body, because of its adjournment until the following Monday. On the other hand, this adjournment of the Senate was a palpable violation of good faith. It had been agreed to hold the joint convention that morning, and instead of abiding by their votes of the preceding day, the

Democratic members of the Senate made undue haste to adjourn and leave their hall before the House could prepare to meet them. Thus, while the Whigs elected their candidate in a manner not sanctioned by law, the Democrats made every effort to prevent the election by means, which if not contrary to the spirit of the law, were at least not in accord with the highest ideals of political integrity.[141]

The Democrats in both houses of the General Assembly drew up and entered upon the journals emphatic protests against the proceedings of January 6th.[142] The newspapers took up the quarrel and for several weeks a bitter war of words was waged. Editors who classed themselves as Anti-Nebraska men were much elated at the outcome, and devoted many columns to the defense of the legality of the election. The Democrats, on the other hand, endeavored to alleviate their disappointment by vigorous denunciation of their opponents, and by attacks on Harlan. One editor, in addition to other derogatory statements, declared that Harlan was "a bigoted fanatic upon the subject of Slavery, who would be allied in the Senate, to an insignificant faction without influence and unable to command respect and yet infinitely inferior to the feeblest intellect among them."[143]

Gradually the excitement subsided. James Harlan remained at his home at Mt. Pleasant awaiting the time when he should enter upon the performance

of the duties which he believed himself legally commissioned to assume. Late in November, 1855, he departed for Washington, and on December 3rd, he was administered the oath of office and took his seat as the first Republican United States Senator from Iowa.[144]

IV

THE CONTESTED ELECTION OF JAMES HARLAN

As far as the legislature and people of Iowa were concerned the election of James Harlan on January 6, 1855, was a closed event. It now remained for the United States Senate to determine whether or not he should be allowed to retain his seat. Although Harlan himself, in common with a majority of the Anti-Nebraska party, felt fully satisfied of the legality of the election, he nevertheless had misgivings as to the attitude which the Senate would assume when it came to decide his case. A week before his departure for Washington it appears that Harlan wrote to James W. Grimes desiring to know what course he would pursue as Governor in case of an adverse decision: whether he would consider it "such a vacancy as would justify an appointment by the Governor", or whether in his opinion it would warrant calling a special session of the legislature.[145]

Governor Grimes replied that he believed the election had been legal, and therefore there could be no vacancy, no matter what action the United States Senate might take. Consequently he would not feel justified either in making an appointment or reassembling the legislature unless some exigency

should arise which was not then contemplated. He was of the opinion, moreover, that with the existing ill feeling in the General Assembly there would be no election even if an extra session were called, and that any appointment he might make would be rejected by the United States Senate on the ground that, since the legislature had failed to elect, there could be no vacancy which the Governor could fill.[146]

As has already been stated James Harlan took his seat in the United States Senate on December 3, 1855. His colleague, George W. Jones, who presented his credentials at the same time, called attention to the fact that at the preceding session a protest from the Senate of Iowa had been put on file declaring that Harlan's election had been illegal. But as he desired the coöperation of his new colleague, Mr. Jones hoped he would be sworn in before his case was referred to a committee and finally decided, as he presumed it would be in a short time. At the request of Senator Mason of Virginia the protest was read, and then, there being no objection, James Harlan took the oath of office and was allowed to choose a seat from among those vacant.[147]

The position of the new Senator at Washington was anything but pleasant. Broken as he was in health, almost a total stranger in the capital city, and with little prospect of being allowed to retain his seat, his letters to his wife during the first weeks of his sojourn were full of gloom and anxious forebodings. "I came to fight a battle for my right to a seat in a body of eminent Statesmen a large majority

of whom were politically hostile to my claim; and all of whom, except my colleague, were total strangers", wrote Senator Harlan many years later when recalling his first impressions of Washington official life. "And I was affiliated with a new party then just forming, to which the *old* Whig and Democratic parties were bitterly hostile; and whose representation in the Senate constituted a very small minority. Of all the thousands of Government officials swarming around the Departments, from the President down to the most humble employe, not one sympathised with this new political organization. . . . It would be very difficult for any one now to realise the depressing influence of such a sentiment on the mind of a stranger on entering such a community, in which every man woman and child felt it to be right and a duty to manifest hostility, because of their consciencious belief that the new comer is a criminal in his intentions and purposes, and his presence highly dangerous to the peace, safety and welfare of society."[148]

It was not until August 13, 1856, that anything was again said in regard to James Harlan's right to his seat in the Senate. On that day George W. Jones moved that the resolutions of the Iowa Senate be taken from the files and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary without remarks. Mr. Harlan asked that the matter be made a special order for an early day. There was a bill before the house, however, and the President declined to entertain further debate.[149]

On the following day Senator Jones again moved that the papers in the case of his colleague be taken up and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. Senator James A. Bayard of Delaware, one of the members of the committee, said he did not see how a report could be made that session. It was voted to take the papers from the files, and then Mr. Harlan asked that their consideration be made the special order for twelve o'clock the next day. After some insignificant debate a vote was taken which resulted in favor of the Iowa Senator's motion.[150]

On Friday, August 15th, at the appointed time Senator Robert M. T. Hunter of Virginia moved to postpone the special order and take up the civil appropriation bill. Mr. Harlan insisted on his right to be heard, and he had the support of Senator John M. Clayton of Delaware. John P. Hale of New Hampshire also objected to the postponement of the hearing on the ground that it was a question of privilege. "A question of privilege", he said, "is one that overrides all others. . . . The very name of the question, being one of privilege, prevents it from being thus disposed of." Mr. Hunter objected to this argument. "We are to adjourn on Monday. We have no previous question here; and if the Senate has no right to postpone this question, the session may be spoken out." Furthermore, he called attention to the fact that the question had been postponed all the session thus far. Andrew P. Butler of South Carolina, chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, maintained that this was

not a question of privilege since it was on a motion to refer certain papers to a committee. It would become a question of privilege when the committee reported. Mr. Harlan said he had a right to object to being tried by the Committee on the Judiciary. Mr. Bayard, aroused by this statement, declared he would have no objection to referring the question to any other committee. "On personal grounds I should be perfectly satisfied to have it go elsewhere," he said, "though I cannot say much for the courtesy of the act which seeks on the part of the individual himself, without just ground, to impliedly impute to the members of that committee prejudice, or a disposition to do wrong."[151]

After a somewhat protracted debate the question was put, and there were twenty-seven votes in favor of postponement and eighteen against it. Twenty-six Democrats and one "old line" Whig voted in the affirmative; while of the eighteen Senators voting in the negative twelve were Republicans, four "old line" Whigs, and two Democrats — the latter being George W. Jones of Iowa, and David L. Yulee, of Florida.[152] During the remainder of this session the question of Harlan's right to his seat was not again brought up, nor was any action taken at the short special session which followed. "This debate and this nearly unanimous vote of the democratic Senators", wrote James Harlan, "seemed to me to demonstrate the truth of my conjecture. . . . That the democratic leaders had determined, for political reasons, to defer the discussion and decision

of my right to my seat until *after* the pending Presidential election.''[153]

The Thirty-Fourth Congress assembled for its third session on December 1, 1856. On December 15th, George W. Jones again moved ''to take up the credentials of the Hon. James Harlan, which lie on the table, together with the resolutions of the Senate of Iowa, heretofore presented, in regard to his election.'' This motion was agreed to, and Senator Jones then moved that the papers be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. Mr. Harlan arose and stated that although he did not desire to present any extensive argument in support of his claim, he wished to lay before the Senate the facts of the case. He then read the provisions of the United States Constitution relating to United States Senators, the Iowa law providing for the manner of holding elections, some provisions of the *Code of 1851,* and the record of his election from the *Journal* of the Iowa House of Representatives. He said he felt that he was legally elected and that the movement against him was for purely political reasons. To show the attitude of some of the leading men of his own State, Mr. Harlan read letters from Judges George G. Wright and William G. Woodward of the Supreme Court of Iowa, from William Vandever, Clerk of the Supreme Court of Iowa, and from Governor Grimes, in which all expressed their belief in the legality of his election.

In conclusion Senator Harlan said that in the event of an adverse decision, should the people of

Iowa desire his presence there, they would doubtless find some means to return him, and if they should desire someone else they would have no difficulty in selecting an abler and better man. "I will not oppose the reference of this subject to Committee on the Judiciary," he continued, "although I find among the members of that committee not one political friend. Every member of that committee is politically opposed to me upon the questions now at issue before the country." Nevertheless, he expressed his confidence in the fairness of the committee, and therefore would offer no objection to the reference of the whole question to them.[154]

A long debate followed in which an attempt was made to have the case referred to a select committee which should include at least one member politically friendly to Mr. Harlan. But when the vote was taken it was decided by a large majority to refer the matter to the Committee on the Judiciary.[155] Not until January 5, 1857, was the committee ready to report. The report, which was very long, was not read, except for the statement that the majority of the committee had come to the conclusion that James Harlan had not been duly elected to his seat in the Senate. Both the majority and minority reports were ordered printed, with the understanding that they should come up for consideration as soon as printed.[156]

By the following morning, January 6, the reports were printed and a copy placed on each Senator's desk. After some debate a motion to proceed to the

consideration of the report was adopted. Mr. Bayard moved to postpone the consideration until the following day, because the Senators had not had time to read the reports and become conversant with the facts. "I do not wish to insist on a premature decision of this question", replied Mr. Harlan. "It will be remembered by the Senate, however, that this protest has been lying on the table of the Senate for nearly two years." It had been before the Committee on the Judiciary since December 16th, and ample time had been given for thorough investigation. He thought it was due to his State to have the question settled before the adjournment of the Iowa legislature, which would continue in session for perhaps twenty days longer.[157]

Mr. Butler, the chairman of the committee, supported the Iowa Senator in his desire to have the matter disposed of at once. Mr. Bayard still insisted that more time should be given for the reading of the reports. "The question must be discussed", he said. William Bigler of Pennsylvania suggested that if they should proceed without further delay to the consideration of the question it would receive ample discussion as both sides of the case would undoubtedly be presented in detail. Senator George E. Pugh thought that since the report was long and contained much irrelevant material it would be better if the chairman should simply relate the facts in the case and state the conclusions of the committee. With this suggestion the reading of the report was dispensed with and Mr. Butler took the floor.[158]

"As I have before said, Mr. President," began the courteous, dignified Senator from South Carolina, "this case is not without its difficulties. It certainly does involve, in my opinion, grave consideration affecting the organization of the Federal and State governments. I do not say that I am so far wedded to my opinions that I would not readily change them; but I am sure that the gentleman from Iowa will understand me fairly when I declare that I really stand in a condition of indifferency so far as regards the effect which the decision of the question may have on him, or any person who wants his seat."

Mr. Butler then proceeded to relate the essential facts of the report. He described in detail the long history of the election; how the two houses of the Iowa legislature had met day after day in joint convention in the fruitless attempt to elect a Senator, and how at last the result had been accomplished. In his opinion "the election was made by the House of Representatives, with a few Senators, and those Senators were not brought there by any communication with the Senate as a body — as a component part of the Legislature of Iowa". He then had the Secretary read the act passed in 1847 by the General Assembly of Iowa, regulating the manner of electing United States Senators. According to this act he argued that there could be no joint convention unless both houses were present; and that if it was not a convention of both houses it was not the legislature and was therefore a violation of the Constitution of the United States. The Senate was not present, nor

were the few Senators who attended present in their official capacity. If the Iowa law could be construed to delegate to the House of Representatives the power to thus perform functions which were entrusted to the legislature as a whole, it was clearly unconstitutional.

Furthermore, the South Carolina Senator called attention to the fact that the president of the Senate had not been present at the joint convention, but that a president *pro tempore,* a Senator, had been chosen to preside over the convention. This was in palpable violation of the Iowa law which stipulated that in the absence of the president of the Senate, the speaker of the House of Representatives should be the presiding officer of the convention. But the joint convention had been illegal in another respect, continued the Senator. "Each House had a right to appoint its own teller, but when they went in on this occasion, and made this election by this convention, or this mass meeting, as I contend it was, the teller of the Senate was not there. The judge who had derived his authority from the Senate — and a judge of the election might have been a very important officer — the judge of the election appointed by the Senate as such was not present."

These facts, stated Senator Butler, led him to the conclusion that, according to a strict construction of the Constitution of the United States and of the Iowa law, the election had been illegal. He had stated the case as simply as possible, and now yielded the floor to Senator Robert Toombs of Georgia who would

state the position of the minority of the committee.[159] The Senator from Georgia plunged at once into the midst of the subject. "The question made by the protest of the Senate of Iowa, which is the only contest made in this case," he declared, "is solely upon the point that they had no knowledge of the joint convention. . . . Thus the question presented on the record, by the issue made by the Senate of Iowa, is as to the fact whether or not they, as a Senate, had official notice of the meeting at which the sitting member was elected." In his opinion the fact that the Senate did not attend the joint convention in a body did not vitiate the election. The Constitution of the United States provided that Senators should be chosen by the legislatures of the various States. In Iowa the legislature was composed of a Senate and a House of Representatives. Congress had not exercised the power vested in it to regulate the time and manner of electing Senators, and as a consequence the legislature of Iowa had enacted a law covering these points as far as Iowa was concerned. This law stipulated that United States Senators should be elected by a joint convention of the two houses of the legislature. But "to prevent the success of factious efforts to defeat an election at the proper time, and thus to defeat the will of the majority of the constitutional electors", the law wisely provided that the joint convention should have the power to prolong its own existence by adjourning from time to time until someone was elected.

Governing themselves by this law the two houses of the General Assembly met in joint convention. Failing to elect on the first day the convention adjourned, and so on for several successive days, until Friday, January 5, 1855, when after several fruitless ballots it adjourned until the following morning at ten o'clock. The members of the Senate, as a part of the joint convention, were present when the adjournment took place, as was shown by their own *Journal*. Moreover, they themselves concurred in this adjournment and heard it announced by their own president. As a consequence they had full and ample notice of the time for the reassembling of the joint convention. In spite of this fact the Senate met on the morning of the sixth, before the time for the convention, and adjourned until the following Monday. As a result when the messenger from the House entered the Senate chamber to announce that the House was waiting, which announcement was a mere act of courtesy and not necessary, no Senate could be found.

A number of the Senators, however, continued Senator Toombs, entered the hall of the House of Representatives and the joint convention, "composed not of a minority, but of a majority, of all the persons upon whom this duty devolved by the Constitution of the United States and the law of Iowa, proceeded to choose a Senator to represent that State in this body. There was present a full quorum of the electors. The electors were the Senators and Representatives of Iowa. . . . The question was

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then made that the Senate was not there as a Senate; and I say they could not be under this law of Iowa, but the joint convention was there. The law of Iowa declared, that in the absence of all other rules, they should be governed by Jefferson's Manual. According to that manual, a majority of the members of the joint convention then assembled, if there had not been a Senator present, were competent to perform the duty which the law devolved upon the joint convention." Accordingly, the joint convention as organized on the morning of January 6, 1855, even though the Senate was not present as an official body, was fully competent to elect a United States Senator.

Taking up the point of the necessity of giving an official notice to the Senate of the time for the adjourned meeting of the joint convention, Mr. Toombs declared that no such notice was required either by the Constitution of the United States or by the Iowa law. Replying to the objection that the law had been violated in respect to the presiding officer, he stated that the speaker of the House had been present, had presided and put the questions, that during the progress of the convention a president *pro tempore* had been chosen, but that both the speaker of the House and the president *pro tempore* had signed the proceedings. Finally, as far as the tellers were concerned their duties were purely ministerial. They had only to record and count the votes, and they could in no way affect the election.[160]

Thus both sides of this complicated election case were ably presented to the members of the United

States Senate. In the long and earnest debate which continued almost without interruption until January 12th a number of the most prominent members of the Senate participated. In the main the arguments were the same as those presented by Senators Butler and Toombs. Among those upholding Mr. Butler's view of the case were Senators Henry S. Geyer, James A. Bayard, Charles E. Stuart, Isaac Toucey, Stephen A. Douglas, and Judah P. Benjamin. Of those supporting Robert Toombs in his contention that James Harlan was legally entitled to his seat were Senators William H. Seward, George E. Pugh, John P. Hale, William P. Fessenden, Lafayette S. Foster, and Lyman Trumbull.[161]

Finally, on January 12, 1857, a vote was taken on a motion which had been made by Senator Toombs amending the resolution of the majority report of the Committee on the Judiciary so that it would read: "*Resolved,* That JAMES HARLAN is entitled to his seat as a Senator from Iowa." The amendment was lost by a vote of twenty-seven to eighteen. Thereupon the resolution declaring that James Harlan was not entitled to his seat was put to a vote. There were twenty-eight votes in the affirmative and eighteen in the negative, and the seat which James Harlan had held for over a year was declared vacant.[162]

"To all impartial thinkers, as it seems to me, this objection to the legality of my election must appear to be merely technical and not substantial", was James Harlan's comment on this adverse turn

in his fortunes. "Nevertheless I did not then, and do not now think that those who maintained that it constituted a substantial defect were dishonest. It is an illustration, however, of the psychological effect of strong desire on the human judgment. Had I been a member of the Democratic party I have not the slightest doubt that my election would have been held by a majority of the United States Senators to have been valid."[163]

The question of the legality of the first election of James Harlan is a difficult one to decide. Strong arguments can be presented on both sides. The least that can be said of it is that it was unusual. Perhaps the decision reached by the United States Senate, even though influenced by party prejudice, was the most satisfactory to all concerned. It came as a balm to the wounded feelings of Harlan's enemies, both Democratic and Republican. And as far as James Harlan himself was concerned, it deprived him for only a short time of his seat in the Senate, for he was soon reëlected in an entirely regular manner which left no doubt as to its legality.

The vote declaring that James Harlan was not entitled to his seat in the United States Senate was taken at about three o'clock on January 12, 1857, and at four o'clock on the same afternoon the unseated Senator was on his way to Iowa City. Forced to remain for nearly a day at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, he there witnessed the exciting election of Simon Cameron to a vacant seat in the United States

Senate. Proceeding on his journey on the following day, he finally reached Iowa City on Friday night, January 16th, after many delays caused by the excessive cold and the deep snow.[164]

The news of the Senate's action had been telegraphed ahead; and so when Harlan arrived at the State capital he found that his friends had everything in readiness to reëlect him and that they were only awaiting his presence. On the following afternoon, January 17, 1857, at three o'clock the two houses of the legislature met in joint convention and every Republican legislator cast his vote for James Harlan. Out of ninety-nine votes Harlan received sixty-three, W. F. Coolbaugh thirty-five, and Winslow F. Barker one. Thus, beyond all possibility of dispute James Harlan was chosen to fill out his unexpired term which would end March 4, 1861.[165] That evening Senator Harlan was given a reception by the Republican members of the legislature in the Senate chamber of the Old Stone Capitol.[166]

Believing it to be his duty to return at once to his post at the national capital, Senator Harlan left Iowa City on Monday, January 19th. He drove sixty miles across the country in a sleigh to his home at Mt. Pleasant, where he remained only a few days, and then hastened on to Washington. On Thursday, January 29, 1857, the credentials of his reëlection were presented by Lyman Trumbull of Illinois, the oath of office was administered, and again James Harlan took his seat in the United States Senate amid the congratulations of his friends.[167]

V

THE ELECTION OF JAMES W. GRIMES IN 1858

The extension or restriction of slavery was the great national issue during the senatorial contest which terminated in Iowa in January, 1858. The heritage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act with its doctrine of popular sovereignty was being reaped in "bleeding Kansas", and in Iowa the struggle was watched with feverish interest. The Lecompton fraud fanned to fury the blaze of indignation already kindled by the Dred Scott Decision. Even the Democrats condemned this new attempt to subvert all principles of popular government. Thus it became evident that no man who favored the admission of Kansas with the Lecompton Constitution could receive the support of either party for the senatorship. Within the State sectional jealousy and bitter personal animosity characterized the campaign.

As early as September a war was being waged at Dubuque between two parties, known as the Montagues and the Capulets, under the leadership of George W. Jones and Thomas S. Wilson respectively. These men were old-time rivals for political office. Ten years before they had both been candidates for the senatorship and Jones had been the victor. Now their ambitions once more brought

them into conflict. Jones wished to be reëlected to the position which he must vacate March 4, 1859; while Wilson was equally desirous of securing the seat in the Senate to which he had so long aspired. "They are each exerting every power to secure the mastery over the other", wrote a Republican editor who endeavored by every means to foster the bitterness between the two men. "They are provided with newspaper organs, which advocate the claims of their respective prototypes, and puff and blow like liliputian whales at one another."[168] At another time the same editor declared that Wilson "had sunk himself in the mud so deep as to be almost entirely out of sight before his shameful attack on the General; and now he is morally and politically dead and buried." Jones, on the other hand, seemed to realize that he had been "elevated higher than his talents will bear" and was resorting to self-debasement to bring himself down. But the combatants were advised not to "quarrel about a silver spoon" until they knew that one of them was to have it.[169]

Meanwhile, in the State at large a great deal of interest was being manifested in political affairs. The excitement of the campaign for the election of State officers was at its height, and never before was so much emphasis placed on the importance of the political complexion of the General Assembly. Public attention was called to the fact that President Buchanan endorsed the doctrine of Calhoun that slavery existed wherever the Federal Constitution prevailed as the supreme law, and that every Demo-

cratic member of the legislature would give his vote for a United States Senator who would stand by this doctrine.[170] "Finally", declared one editor, "if the Democracy have the majority in the Legislature, they will send that pro-slavery doughface Gen. Jones back to the U. S. Senate, or some gentleman equally well adapted for clay to the hands of Southern potters."[171] It was even claimed that the Democratic leaders would willingly barter off their Governor for a Senator. "The question is not simply who shall be our State officers, but mainly, shall Iowa be represented in the National Legislature by a groveling pro-slavery sycophant, or by an upright, conscientious, freedom-loving Republican?"[172]

At the election which was held on October 13, 1857, the Republicans succeeded in electing their entire State ticket and in securing a substantial majority in both houses of the legislature. Henceforth, with the exception of the ridiculous contest which continued to furnish excitement at Dubuque, the senatorial campaign was chiefly confined to the adherents of the new and victorious party. The certainty that George W. Jones could no longer hope to be returned to the Senate elicited a satirical comment from a Chicago newspaper writer, who was interested in the outcome in Iowa. "A light is extinguished in our sister State beyond the Mississippi", he said, "and gloom falls over the northwest. Jones is no more! Four days ago he shone with comet lustre in the galaxy of the unwashed; now, 'sick almost to doomesday with eclipse.' As Dodge

— lost Pleiad — sailed from the space two years ago, so Jones wanders away to bear him company in the regions of the infinite Nowhere. *Par nobile* discomfited demagogues! . . . Dodge was the embodied genius of the doughface.— Jones never attained that dignity."[173]

The locality from which the new Senator should be chosen immediately became an important consideration, and sectional antagonism threatened to prevent a calm selection based on fitness and training for the position. The northern part of the State insisted that George W. Jones's successor should come from that section, since the southern half already had one Senator, in the person of James Harlan. Party leaders in the southern counties were equally determined that one of their number should go to the Senate, although they professed to stand for the choice of the best man irrespective of locality.

One of the earliest to enter the race for the senatorship was William Penn Clarke of Iowa City. He was a man of strong anti-slavery principles, who had taken a prominent part in the organization of the Republican party in the State and who had attended the preliminary Republican National Convention at Pittsburgh in February, 1856.[174] Consequently it was natural that he should aspire to a reward at the hands of his party. James Thorington, a leading lawyer of Davenport, was another man whose name was among the first to be prominently mentioned. He had just finished a successful term as Congressman from the Second District, and his efforts to

secure railroad land grants had made him many friends in the favored sections of the State, as well as many enemies in the regions not directly benefited by the grants.[175] A little later Frederick E. Bissell, a successful Dubuque attorney, was brought out by his friends in the northern part of the State.[176]

But by far the best known and most promising candidate for the senatorship from the beginning was James W. Grimes of Burlington. His term as Governor which was about to expire witnessed events and movements which make it one of the most significant periods of Iowa history. His election to the governorship in 1854 was the first sign of the ascendancy of the new party which was to hold unbroken sway in the State for thirty-five years, and James W. Grimes, more than any other man, deserved the title sometimes given him of "Father of Republicanism in Iowa". In 1855 a revolution in the ideas of temperance reform brought about the enactment of a rigid prohibitory law. Two years later a new State Constitution was adopted, and the capital was moved from Iowa City to Des Moines. During this period the State received a substantial increase in population through the immigration of thousands of sober, industrious, home-seekers from the east. By 1856 the railroad was beginning to push its lines of steel across the prairies toward the Missouri River, and Grimes's efforts to aid this advance earned for him the name of "The Great Missouri River Opener". In all these important movements James W. Grimes took a definite and active part.

The result was that at the close of his governorship he had a host of friends in all parts of the State who were anxious to confer upon him the higher honor of the senatorship. He thus had the advantage of support in all sections of the State, while his opponents could only depend with any degree of assurance upon the votes of a portion of the legislators from their own section.

And yet, in spite of the fact that he was probably the most popular man in the State, Grimes could by no means be certain of election without a vigorous campaign. Not only was he confronted with the problem of overcoming the claims of a number of rival candidates based largely on sectional prejudice, but he had many enemies within the ranks of his own party whose highest aim for the time being was to defeat him. Consequently, the senatorial contest excited much interest during the winter months. "The prospect for a glorious *black* republican scramble for office at the sitting of the Legislature is good," was the anticipation of a Democratic editor, "and we expect some fun."[177]

William Penn Clarke early in the campaign wrote letters to a large number of the legislators elect, but a majority of the replies were not of such a nature as to be particularly encouraging. "I will be frank to admit to you that I both have my mind made up and have promised my aid — My first choice is Jim Thorington", was an answer which came from Tipton. The writer stated that he favored Thorington because he felt that injustice had been done him by

not returning him to Congress, and because he could command the greatest strength against Grimes.[178] "I am entirely unpledged and in fact think I should remain so, and when the time for action comes endeavor to do what will be best for the party and through its success the best good for the state & nation", was the patriotic but non-committal response from a resident of the Quaker community of Springdale.[179] "While I would express no preference as between you & Bissell", came a reply from Des Moines, "allow me to say to you that which ever of you may have the best show I think that I can bring at least ten votes to your support, or to the support of any man opposed to Grimes".[180] Indeed, the correspondents for the most part seemed exceedingly wary about making any definite promises.

James Thorington entered into the contest with all his strength, and with valuable experience gained in his campaign three years before for the position of Representative in Congress. On October 23rd he wrote to James Harlan informing him of his decision to enter the race for an office which he felt was due to him as a reward for his services to the Republican party and to the State. At the same time he expressed his determination to remain true to the cause even though he should not be elected. "Be this as it may", he said, "the party shall not have the opportunity of pleading ignorance of my wishes."[181]

It was stated on good authority that immediately after the result of the fall election was known, a certain State officer who was interested in the elec-

tion of James W. Grimes wrote to each of the successful Republican candidates for the legislature inquiring as to his preference for United States Senator. In reply "a majority of all of them, in *confidence* declared themselves in favor of the election of James W. Grimes"; and the State officer "forwarded these several letters, as fast as received, to Mr. Grimes, and informed the several writers who so committed themselves that he had done so."[182]

Thus the leading candidates for the senatorship endeavored to determine in advance the number of votes they could expect to receive. Neither Frederick E. Bissell nor Judge William Smyth of Linn County, whose name was added to the list of aspirants, seem to have made a very strenuous campaign.

The contest soon resolved itself into a purely personal and sectional struggle in which every conceivable pretext was made the basis of an attempt to discredit James W. Grimes. It was insinuated, if not openly charged, that he was using the funds of the executive office to carry on his senatorial campaign. "The strife for the Senatorship is still raging, as numerous 'little jokers' bearing those ominous words: 'charge Executive Department,' testify", was the comment of a Democratic neighbor of the Governor. " 'That's the way the money goes — pop goes the weasel.' The question is, who pays the piper while the ex-Governor dances to the tune of a Senatorship?"[183]

The part which Grimes played in securing the

removal of the capital from Iowa City to Des Moines was painted in dark colors by his enemies, and was used with telling effect in some localities. One hostile politician even went so far as to write that "if we can get at the facts in the case of the Removal of the Capitol, and particularly Grimes' figuring he can be knocked higher than ever baloon ascended."[184] William Penn Clarke seemed to share this hope and belief, for he wrote to James Harlan that one means which could be used to defeat Grimes would be to expose his "official corruption" in connection with the capital removal, "which, if the facts can be obtained in some tangible shape, ought to damn him".[185] It must be remembered in this connection that William Penn Clarke lived in Iowa City, and in common with his fellow citizens was sorely disappointed at the removal of the capital. This charge was also taken up by some of the opposition newspapers,[186] but it had little effect except with those who were angry at the change of location of the capital or who welcomed any attack on Grimes.

Another movement of opposition might have caused Grimes no little anxiety if it had met with the approval of the man in whose interest it was supposed to have originated. Early in the contest it began to be whispered about among the friends of James Harlan that the election of Grimes now would mean the defeat of their favorite for reëlection two years later. The argument was that if Grimes were chosen both Senators would live in the southern part of the State, and that the next Senator must neces-

sarily be elected from the north, thus leaving Harlan in the cold. This possibility caused considerable alarm among Harlan's admirers, as is shown by the fact that Harlan received numerous letters warning him of the danger and urging him to tell them how to act. "If this disposition of you, is with your consent it is all right, but if not, your friends should make *active* and *immediate* efforts to counteract it", wrote A. W. Hackley of Dubuque.[187] "The editor of one of our northern Republican papers, told me a few days ago that Gov. Grimes openly tells the northern Republicans to wait *two years longer* for a U. S. Senator", came the admonition from Iowa City.[188] William Penn Clarke, who was probably influenced as much by his own ambition as by his anxiety for James Harlan's reëlection two years later, wrote asking Harlan to use his influence to defeat Grimes.[189]

"It seemed to me marvelous that Mr. Clarke, the writer of the foregoing letter could have believed that he had the least prospect of an election to a seat in the United States Senate", was James Harlan's comment in later years. "But it did not seem to me to be proper that I should attempt to control the election of my colleague. And the method suggested by him to defeat the election of Governor Grimes, was, to my mind, excessively weak, to call it by no more odious name."[190] It is evident, however, that Harlan secretly took more interest in the contest than this statement would indicate, for two weeks before the opening of the legislature he wrote to

William Penn Clarke, suggesting various possibilities and dangers in the campaign against Grimes.[191] But Harlan did not openly support the opposition to Grimes, and so the attempt to make capital out of the possible clash between his interests and those of Grimes had little effect in causing defection from the latter.

As has been intimated, the strongest argument used against James W. Grimes was the sectional plea. The southern half of the State already had one United States Senator, one Congressman, and a majority of the State officers. It was, therefore, not illogical to argue that the new Senator should come from the north. If the north had been able to unite on some strong candidate it is probable, or at least possible, that the sectional issue would have defeated Grimes in spite of his popularity in all parts of the State. But Frederick E. Bissell, the only strictly northern candidate of any prominence, was scarcely known in political circles outside of Dubuque, and hence sectional loyalty was not strong enough to overcome personal admiration among Grimes's friends even in the north.

Another objection to Grimes shows the peculiar mental gymnastics in which some men indulged in their desire to hatch up reasons for his defeat. The Republican party, as has been suggested, had been organized by a union of former Whigs, Anti-Nebraska Democrats and Free-Soilers. It was now suggested that since thus far the offices had been given to former Whigs, the new Senator should be

chosen from among one of the other elements, preferably from among those who had formerly been Democrats.[192]

Descending to purely personal matters it appears that James W. Grimes was taunted with being slovenly in dress and appearance and unsocial and surly by nature. Both Harlan and Grimes were referred to in a Democratic journal as "*icebergs* floating at random in the sea of politics; avoided by all warmer natures as much as possible and when passed by other members, causing a shiver by the cold and formal nod of the head and the surly 'good morning.' "[193]

Meanwhile Grimes and his friends were quietly at work. A number of the strongest Republican newspapers in the State warmly supported his cause, and all the indications of popular sentiment remained decidedly in his favor.

A strange and somewhat amusing side attraction throughout this contest was the struggle which continued with unabated fury at Dubuque between George W. Jones and Thomas S. Wilson. "All the arts of diplomacy have failed to bring about a reconciliation, or to stay the rage and confusion of the battle", was the comment in a Dubuque newspaper as late as December 19th. "The Generals are haranguing their armies, and urging them to contumacy and cowardice. Each represents his opponent as his personal enemy — the enemy of his party, his country and his Senatorial interests."[194] The reasons for maintaining this senseless warfare, when it was

certain that neither Jones nor Wilson could gain the senatorship, are difficult to understand. But the explanation given at the time was that Jones wished the complimentary vote of his party as a recommendation with which to apply to President Buchanan for a good position after retiring from his seat in the Senate.

By the time the Seventh General Assembly met at Des Moines on January 11, 1858, all of the candidates and issues of the contest were fairly before the legislators. Alvin Saunders writing to James Harlan said that the town was full of outsiders ready to be "sacrificed on the altar of their country". It was his opinion that unless the north united on some strong man and worked hard for him James W. Grimes would be elected. But, he said, "he will at least feel, before he fully secures *all* the votes, that the servant is not greater than his master & that he must *humble* himself as a little child before he enters his kingdom."[195]

Correspondents writing to their newspapers at the opening of the session were not able to predict with any certainty when the election would be held. While the outside pressure among the lobbyists and politicians was largely opposed to Grimes, the sentiment among members of the legislature was strongly in his favor, and it seemed evident to all that he would be the successful candidate. The opponents of Grimes urged a postponement of the election in the hope of causing discord in the party and defections from the ranks of his adherents.[196]

Thus several days passed and an unrelenting warfare was carried on against James W. Grimes by a few bitter enemies. The leading opponent outside of the rival candidates was Fitz Henry Warren. What the motives were which induced him to labor so energetically to defeat Grimes are not known, but it is a fact that throughout the contest he was very active in the opposition. His efforts, however, were of little avail, for since his candidacy for Senator three years before he seems to have lost much of his popularity. A prominent Republican editor expressed the judgment that Warren had only "succeeded in giving himself a very high position on the political shelf."[197]

Meanwhile the newspapers were full of speculations as to the probable outcome. If the question could have been submitted to a popular vote there can be little doubt but that Grimes would have been elected by an overwhelming majority of the Republican votes. "It is a period when no second or third rate talent should be sent from any Northern State to the American Senate", admonished Charles Aldrich in the *Hamilton Freeman*. "The great and absorbing question of slavery domination is daily assuming new phases, and new schemes are constantly laid to subvert our liberties." It was a time, he said, when the State should be represented by a compeer of Sumner, Seward, and Hale, and he considered James W. Grimes fully up to the standard.[198]

On January 25, 1858, both parties held caucuses. In the Republican caucus the first informal ballot

resulted in twenty-eight votes for James W. Grimes, thirteen for James Thorington, nine for William Smyth, five for David Bunker, five for Samuel Dart (a fictitious name), and three for Timothy Davis. On the first formal ballot Grimes received thirty-eight, Thorington thirteen, Smyth eight, and Davis three.[199] James W. Grimes, having a clear majority of all the votes cast, was unanimously declared the nominee of the party. It was estimated that if another ballot had been necessary Grimes would have received at least sixteen more votes.[200] "My vote would have been much larger, and nearly unanimous, on the second ballot", wrote Grimes to his wife, "as many voted for persons in their own counties on the first ballot, by way of compliment, who would have voted for me on the second ballot, and for me on the first had their votes been necessary."[201]

The Democratic caucus cast an informal ballot in which Benjamin M. Samuels received nineteen votes, George W. Jones thirteen, Thomas S. Wilson six, Lincoln Clark one, and William F. Coolbaugh one. A formal ballot was then taken, Samuels receiving twenty-eight votes and Jones ten.[202] Benjamin M. Samuels of Dubuque County was therefore nominated to receive the empty compliment of the Democratic votes for United States Senator. George W. Jones had shortly before this time come out openly in support of President Buchanan's policy toward the fraudulent Lecompton Constitution in Kansas, and his defeat now by Samuels was

taken as an indication that Iowa Democrats repudiated the President's course.

On the following day, January 26, 1858, the two houses of the General Assembly met in joint convention for the election of United States Senator. Little interest was taken in what was merely a matter of form. The Republicans were so strongly in the majority as to make the election of Grimes a certainty, and there was no disposition to bolt the nominations in either party. So when the votes were counted and it was announced that James W. Grimes was elected United States Senator for the term of six years beginning March 4, 1859, no one was surprised. Grimes received sixty-four votes, a majority of twenty-three over Samuels. After electing a state printer, certificates of election were drawn up and signed and the joint convention adjourned.[203]

On the evening of January 29th, conforming to the established custom, James W. Grimes gave a supper to the members of the legislature and a number of other prominent citizens. Nearly two hundred guests gathered at the Des Moines House to participate in what was described as one of the most brilliant events of the season.[204] Thus with expressions of good will and amid the rejoicings of Republicans all over the State the long contest came to an end.

VI

THE ELECTION OF JAMES HARLAN IN 1860

Interest in the election of a United States Senator was revived during the summer of 1859, for it was realized that upon the succeeding General Assembly would devolve the duty of choosing a successor to James Harlan. It was a period of great political earnestness and activity. Party lines were closely drawn upon the all-absorbing issue of human slavery. The ever growing cloud of the irrepressible conflict was casting its ominous shadow over the Nation, and out on the frontier in Iowa men were filled with anxious forebodings. It was natural, therefore, that they should take an intense interest in the election of all their officials, and especially of those who should represent them in the halls of Congress.

There seems to have been very little public discussion of the senatorial question until in August, 1859; but as early as July the friends of James Harlan began to write to him regarding his prospects of reëlection. It was the general opinion that while he would doubtless have some competition within the ranks of his own party he need have no apprehensions as to the election of a Democratic legislature.[205]

By the middle of August, however, newspaper

editors began to pay some attention to the possibilities in the election of a United States Senator. From this time until after the State election in October the bearing of the result upon the choice of a Senator by the legislature during the following winter was one of the important considerations in the strenuous campaign. Indeed, it may be said that the senatorial election of 1860 differs from those which preceded it in the fact that it was to a greater extent determined by the fall elections. James Harlan had given ample satisfaction to the members of his party throughout the State, and his reëlection virtually hung upon the question of whether the majority in the new legislature would be Republican or Democratic.

During the State campaign of 1859 the Democrats did all in their power to minimize the importance of great national issues and to deprecate their introduction into the determination of local affairs. They complained, for instance, that the speeches of James Harlan in the United States Senate were being circulated throughout the State as campaign documents. The Democratic party was at this time hopelessly divided on national issues, and the leaders in Iowa were making desperate efforts to hold the discordant elements together in the State election. They were placed in the awkward position of endeavoring to carry out the program of the administration at Washington and at the same time of being forced to pass lightly over many of the acts and policies of President Buchanan in the attempt

to propitiate the dissatisfied members of the party. Hence, their desire to disparage the introduction of national issues into State politics.

The Republicans were quick to penetrate the designs of their opponents. Republican newspapers all over the State contained editorials warning their readers to beware of the false doctrines of the Democrats. "The Black Democracy", wrote one editor, "are contending that in our State election, this fall, we have nothing to do with matters involved in national politics; that the extravagances of the present Administration, and the demands and atrocities of the Slave Power are not to be at all considered in this election. . . . The Legislature now to be elected, elects a United States Senator for six years. Has that nothing to do with national matters?"[206] It was declared that the Democrats had no hope of electing their State ticket, but were bending every effort to secure a majority in the legislature in order to elect a United States Senator. Republicans were warned to vote the entire ticket and not to trade off their votes for a legislative candidate for Democratic votes for State officers. Often an exaggerated emphasis was placed upon the importance of a single vote, in the desire to hold voters to a straight ticket. "A single vote in this County or some other County in the State", was the solemn admonition of a Keokuk editor, "may elect a single member of the Legislature, whose single vote may decide the political character of that branch of the Legislature, and thereby decide who shall be United States Senator

for six years. And that United States Senator may in course decide during the next Presidential term the political character of the United States Senate by his votes."[207]

During the campaign the Democrats were urged to greater activity by a number of circulars sent out from Washington, D. C. These circulars purported to come from what were known as the "Iowa Democratic Club Rooms". It is evident, however, that they were prepared under supervision of the Administration, which was in dire straits and not only needed the moral support of Democratic victories in State elections, but was especially anxious to gain additional Democratic votes in Congress. One of the circulars which was freely and as secretly as possible distributed among the Democrats throughout the State, called attention to the number of votes the party must gain in each county in order to carry the election. "Recollect, too, that a United States Senator is to be elected", continued the circular, "in the place of the man (Harlan) who, in his seat in the Senate, proclaimed that the negro was the equal of the white man, because, forsooth, they had arms, heads, noses, ears, legs, &c.! . . . Let every man who believes that the negro is his equal vote for members of the Legislature who will return Harlan, the black man's candidate, to the Senate, but let us white men vote for the white man's candidate!"[208]

This attack upon Senator Harlan aroused his friends to action. A Keokuk editor called upon Republican voters to rally to the polls and "rebuke this

corrupt foreign and federal interference in your State election, and hurl back with defiant scorn the insolent charge that Harlan is the 'black man's candidate.' "[209] "Will the political and personal friends of Senator Harlan stand idly by and permit him to be calumniated and defeated by the Federal Administration and its insolent slaveholding allies of the South?"[210] asked the editor of a paper published at Mt. Pleasant, the home of James Harlan. The Republican State Central Committee issued a circular declaring that the State ticket was reasonably safe, but that the Democrats were using every means to secure control of the legislature in order to elect a Democrat in the place of James Harlan. They even charged the Democrats with planning to import voters from the neighboring States to carry the elections in doubtful counties.[211]

Thus the campaign was carried on until the October elections, when the Republicans won a substantial victory by electing their State ticket and gaining control of both branches of the General Assembly. Henceforth it was no longer a question of whether a Democrat or a Republican should be sent to the United States Senate. It was now merely a matter of choice between the various Republican aspirants for the position, and public sentiment was clearly in favor of the reëlection of James Harlan. "Nearly all the leading Republican journals in the State have declared in favor of Mr. Harlan's reelection to the U. S. Senate, by the Legislature which is soon to assemble", declared a Mt. Pleasant editor.

"Of his success, with almost if not entire unanimity, we have no doubt."[212] And this was the attitude of Republican editors to such an extent that there was very little public discussion of senatorial possibilities.

There seems, however, to have been considerable secret planning and figuring on the part of a number of politicians who coveted a seat in the United States Senate. During the three months preceding the meeting of the legislature James Harlan received a large number of letters from his friends, assuring him of their support, warning him not to be too confident of success, or informing him of the plans of his rivals.[213] From James W. Grimes came the intelligence that Timothy Davis was in the field, but the opinion was expressed that he would have little chance of election. There was also a movement on foot in the western part of the State, supposedly in favor of Thomas H. Benton, Jr., but Senator Grimes had no fear of this combination. "You are safe for the reason that I was two years ago," he told Harlan, "because there is no one else to unite on."[214] Another friend, writing from Clarinda, gave additional warning of the efforts which were being made to elect a man from the Missouri slope. The letter intimated that the name of Fitz Henry Warren was "mixed up in the matter", and the writer urged Senator Harlan to be on his guard.[215]

Among all the men spoken of as possible candidates for the senatorship Chief Justice George G. Wright seems to have been the one most feared by Harlan's friends. In spite of the fact that very

early Judge Wright declared that he was not a candidate but would support Harlan, anxiety as to his course was not fully allayed until after the election. "My own impression has been that Wright would be the neucleus around which the opposition to you, if any, would rally", wrote Thomas Drummond from Vinton. "But another letter received from a coeditor friend to-day, intimates that Andrew J. Stevens is the man. I hardly credit the last supposition, and presume that Stevens himself is possibly in the interest of someone else."[216] And as late as December 26, 1859, the same writer declared that "Stevens *may* be the man, but I yet believe Wright is the one on whom the opposition hope to concentrate".[217] Another of Harlan's admirers, more alarmed than Thomas Drummond over the possibilities of Judge Wright's candidacy, wrote to Harlan late in December and even went so far as to declare that the Democrats were planning to support Wright and that they hoped to draw off enough Republican votes to elect him. He therefore urged Senator Harlan to be very vigilant and have his friends actively at work.[218] This warning, of course, appears ridiculous in the light of subsequent developments.

John A. Kasson was another man whose actions were watched with interest by those who were especially anxious for James Harlan's reëlection. It is quite evident that Kasson had at one time expressed his willingness to be considered as a candidate for the senatorship if there appeared to be any chances for his success. But he was a comparatively new

man in the Iowa political arena, and finding that he could expect but little support he hastily withdrew from the race. "K & his friends begin to see the effect that this movement will have upon his future", wrote a friend to James Harlan early in November, "and they now deny having had any such intentions. So you see that the K. movement is about blown up. Their secret plans are however well understood. . . . I think that it is possible that they may start some new man, but it will end about as K. has."[219]

A number of other men were spoken of in letters to James Harlan as aspirants to succeed him in the Senate, but as they had few supporters little thought was given to them as rivals. One politician, of the type which believed in rotation in the enjoyment of public offices, suggested the propriety of "allowing some of the *young men* to step up to the fire and warm themselves."[220] But the party as a whole was too much in earnest in regard to the great problems which were confronting the Nation to send anyone but a man of experience and ability to the United States Senate.

The General Assembly convened at Des Moines on January 9, 1860. As usual the town was filled with members of the "third house" seeking offices or lobbying for some special interest. Realizing the danger of delay the friends of James Harlan under the leadership of Alvin Saunders succeeded in arranging a Republican caucus on the evening of January 12th. The caucus was well attended and a spirit of harmony prevailed. James Harlan was

unanimously nominated for reëlection in spite of the disappointment of certain ambitious individuals.[221] "Your nomination by acclamation in *caucus* was not very well relished by a *very few* great men in our party", wrote Martin L. Morris to the successful candidate. "The first few days of the Session they were somewhat clamorous — but gradually subsided. *Now,* there is not *one* of them, but asserts that you were their first and only choice for that position."[222]

The Democrats in caucus decided to cast their votes for Augustus Caesar Dodge, who for so long had been the favorite of his party, although it seems that in this case the choice was not made without some difficulty.[223]

The joint convention met in the hall of the House of Representatives at ten o'clock on the morning of January 14th. Julius H. Powers nominated James Harlan and Thomas W. Claggett nominated Augustus Caesar Dodge. When the votes were counted it was found that Harlan had seventy-three while Dodge had only fifty-two. A certificate was, therefore, signed declaring that James Harlan had been elected to represent Iowa in the United States Senate for the term of six years beginning March 4, 1861.[224]

Thus was another senatorial election accomplished. Nor can there be any doubt but that the result accorded with the wishes of a majority of the people of the State. Furthermore, the wisdom of the choice was amply demonstrated during the eventful years which followed when the Nation had sore need of the guidance of strong and loyal sons.

VII

THE ELECTION OF JAMES W. GRIMES IN 1864

The senatorial election of 1864 was comparatively uneventful. Indeed, it can scarcely be said that there was any contest. The war naturally detracted interest to a certain extent from political affairs within the State. Furthermore, the Republican party was by this time so strongly in the ascendancy in Iowa that the Democrats had no hope of electing a United States Senator. It seems to have been a foregone conclusion, as early as any interest was taken in the question at all, that James W. Grimes would be reëlected to the position which he had filled since March 4, 1859, in a manner so satisfactory to his constituents.

Early in the spring of 1863 Senator Grimes received a letter from an editor in the eastern part of the State asking him if he would be a candidate for reëlection. He replied that he was not at all desirous to be returned to the Senate. "On the contrary", he continued, "I am rather averse to the idea of continuing in public life beyond my present term. Our friends have insisted that I shall serve another term, and I have consented to do so, if, after having surveyed the whole field, they are satisfied

that the interest of the country and our party require it, or that they are unable to secure the services of a better man.''[225]

During the campaign which preceded the fall election in 1863 a few newspapers contained brief editorials reminding their readers that a United States Senator would be chosen by the next General Assembly. Democratic editors used this plea more frequently than their opponents. Ira C. Mitchell, in an Iowa City paper, admonished all Democrats to vote for Democratic members of the legislature, since one member of the legislature might cast the deciding vote in the election of a United States Senator, and ''one Senator *might* save the nation, by voting for some such patriotic measure as Grimes has always voted against.''[226] Another editor, whose optimism for his party exceeded his clearness of prophetic vision, predicted that the Democrats would make a ''clean sweep'' of the State that fall, and that the ''abolition rebels'', including Senator Grimes would be ''swept from places of power into the common rubbish heap.''[227]

The Democrats did not make a ''clean sweep'' of the State, however, for the Republicans were overwhelmingly successful in the fall elections. In many cases only men who were pledged to vote for the reëlection of James W. Grimes to the Senate were chosen as members of the legislature.[228]

As the time for the meeting of the General Assembly drew near Republican newspapers began to speak out in favor of the reëlection of Senator

Grimes. About the only dissenting voices came from the extreme western part of the State, where the old sectional plea was urged in support of a western man. But there was no one on whom the few opposing elements could unite, and in fact no other candidates were seriously considered. Public sentiment was clearly and definitely on the side of James W. Grimes.

The Tenth General Assembly convened on January 11, 1864, and proceeded without delay to organize and take up the business of the session. "There is not sufficient opposition to make any contest having a political bearing, piquant", wrote a correspondent.[229] On January 16th a joint convention was held and James W. Grimes, who had received a unanimous nomination in caucus, was reëlected United States Senator by a vote which was almost unanimous. Of the one hundred and thirty-four votes cast, Senator Grimes received all but six. John D. Jennings received five votes and Mr. Love one vote.[230] Thus James W. Grimes was chosen to represent Iowa in the United States Senate for another six years by the largest majority ever given a Senator from this State.

VIII

THE ELECTION OF HARLAN AND KIRKWOOD IN 1866

Among the last official acts of President Lincoln was the appointment of James Harlan as Secretary of the Interior to succeed John P. Usher, whose resignation took effect May 15, 1865. The acceptance of this position by Senator Harlan left vacant his seat in the United States Senate for the remainder of his term which would expire March 3, 1867. Consequently there were two senatorships to be filled by the General Assembly of Iowa in 1866, and in the meantime the Governor might fill the vacancy by appointment.

The news of the choice of James Harlan for the Cabinet position naturally caused a flurry in Iowa political circles. There were a number of men in the State to whom the thought of going to the United States Senate even for the brief period of the unexpired term was by no means distasteful. The first question was whether or not Governor Stone would appoint. The general impression seems to have been that he would not do so, and in fact several newspapers strongly urged this policy. But the uncertainty on this point continued to cause more or less anxiety throughout the remainder of the year.

Late in March, 1865, Governor Stone wrote to Samuel J. Kirkwood concerning the vacancy. While he did not in so many words promise to appoint Kirkwood, he declared that if the vacancy should occur before the meeting of the legislature "I have never doubted in my own mind that *you* would be the man."[231] Again in June it appears that Stone wrote to Kirkwood stating that he had been considering the matter and had decided to risk an appointment, but that he would defer his action until after the meeting of the Republican State Convention, at which time he hoped to be nominated for a second term as Governor. "I am importuned almost night and day on this subject by the friends of one or two other aspirants", he said, "and have determined to *not* dispose of the elephant until I am out of the woods myself." As before, the Governor avoided an explicit promise to appoint Kirkwood, but used language which any fair-minded person would consider a direct agreement to do so. "There is in some parts of the state a determined yet secret opposition to you", he declared, "but an appointment by me will do much to quiet it, as my friends will feel under obligation to endorse my action and sustain me."

Stone was particularly anxious to have the assistance of Kirkwood's friends at the State Convention, but he did not think it advisable for Kirkwood himself to be present "as it would help to give color to the assumption" that there was "a bargain and sale" between the two men. "There will be no ne-

cessity for your friends to say anything about the appointment at the convention," he told Kirkwood, "and their reticence on the subject will tend to keep others quiet and avoid undue agitation of the question. . . . You will be Senator and I Governor again if our friends understand each other, and are *prudent* and *discreet* in their management."[232]

It is evident that others besides Kirkwood considered that Stone had definitely promised to appoint the "War Governor" to the senatorship. "After Stone had promised to appoint you", wrote Marcellus M. Crocker late in June, "persons in this locality opposed to it and in favor of Kasson bullied him into a fever almost, and in a conversation that I had with him the day before the Convention he intimated that he might not appoint you until after the election. . . . I do not know but that if he waits until after the election he may conclude to be a candidate himself and go back to his old policy of not appointing at all. I know that until he became alarmed about his nomination he had intended to so manage his cards as to be a candidate. . . . I am decidedly of the opinion that Stone ought to be held to his promise and made to appoint."[233]

Governor Stone's conduct toward Kirkwood in regard to the vacant senatorship was, to say the least, not commendable. After giving ample promise of his intention to appoint Kirkwood, he not only failed to fulfil that promise, but it is to be feared that he secretly hoped for Kirkwood's defeat at the hands of the legislature in January, 1866.

The question of the senatorial succession became further complicated early in the summer of 1865 when it was hinted about that James Harlan would not be reluctant to return to the Senate. Several letters passed between Harlan and Kirkwood regarding the latter's candidacy; but perhaps the most significant in this connection was one written by Harlan on July 18th. He stated that as far as he knew his friends would support Kirkwood for the senatorship and he had little doubt of his election. "I am not sure, however", he continued, "but I would like to swap places with you after you have grown a little tired of a seat in the senate, and feel like taking a little recreation in running after thieves that have been burrowing about this Department, and living under its protecting aegis in the states and territories. How would you like it?"[234] Apparently the Secretary of the Interior was not entirely pleased with his position.

The newspapers soon took up the question, and Republican editors, as in former years, warned their readers that the Democrats were making strenuous efforts to gain control of the legislature in order to elect a Democratic Senator. It was asserted that every issue was being made to subserve this end; that the Democrats, for instance, in their State Convention had voted to leave the liquor question to each county to decide for itself, and thus it might be "thimble-rigged by the local wire-pullers, and the secret intriguers, bent upon carrying the Legislature for the purpose named."[235]

From Washington came numerous communications on the subject of Harlan's successor. It was strongly urged that the question of locality should not be allowed to enter into the choice, but that the best man should be selected irrespective of locality. According to these correspondents the man most talked of for the senatorship by Iowans at the capital city was James F. Wilson, Congressman from the First District.[236] It does not appear, however, that Wilson made any effort to secure the position which his friends were so anxious for him to receive. In fact he later positively denied having any intention of entering the contest.[237]

By the latter part of October a number of names were being urged in connection with the senatorship by newspapers and politicians in various parts of the State. Fitz Henry Warren, James F. Wilson, Samuel J. Kirkwood, John A. Kasson, William M. Stone, William Vandever, S. R. Curtis, Asahel W. Hubbard, and William B. Allison all had their champions, while others of less prominence received some mention.

Meanwhile the possibility that James Harlan would be a candidate for the position he had so lately resigned was becoming more and more a certainty. Indeed, it soon became apparent that the Secretary of the Interior was making quiet but persistent plans to regain his former seat in the United States Senate. Late in September Harlan was in Burlington, and James W. Grimes wrote to Kirkwood stating that it was believed at that place that Harlan wanted

the full term which would begin in March, 1867, while Fitz Henry Warren was working for the unexpired term. Furthermore, it was thought that either a bargain to this effect would be made between the two men, or that Harlan would take the long term and secure for Warren a mission to Europe.[238]

The actions of James Harlan were a special source of anxiety to Kirkwood and his friends. The "War Governor" had a strong hold on the affections of the people in many parts of the State, as is illustrated in a letter from William B. Lakin, a State Senator elect to whom Kirkwood had written concerning his vote at the coming General Assembly. "The fact is, Governor", wrote Lakin, "I have been so much in the *habit* of voting for you that I don't well see how I could break the habit so early as the year of grace 1866."[239] But James Harlan was undoubtedly the most powerful figure in Iowa politics at this time, and his wishes were bound to weigh heavily in the contest.

Jacob Rich of Dubuque, at this time secretary of the Senate Naval Committee, was one of Kirkwood's strongest supporters, and his position at Washington enabled him to observe the political schemes which were being concocted at the capital. Until he went to Washington, Rich seems to have been quite confident of Kirkwood's election. But in December he wrote: "I cannot be so cheerful and confident of your success as I was when I came here. I have heard so much about what Harlan is doing, the ropes he is pulling, the patronage he is wielding, and the

power he is using, to accomplish his election, that I feel a good deal down in the mouth."[240] A few days later Kirkwood received a letter from another friend at Washington in which it was stated that Harlan was working silently and would not allow his name to be used unless certain of election. A number of persons connected with the Department of the Interior in various capacities, it was asserted, had been sent to Iowa ostensibly on official business, but in reality their mission was to serve the interests of James Harlan in the senatorial contest.[241]

James W. Grimes, William B. Allison, and others in the Iowa delegation at Washington heartily sympathized with Kirkwood and looked upon Harlan's course with disfavor. It seems that Harlan had virtually made a pledge to Grimes that he would support Kirkwood for the senatorship, and his change of front was considered an act of bad faith.[242] In fact the relations between Grimes and Harlan were distinctly less friendly from this time forth.

As the time for the meeting of the legislature approached it was very apparent that the real contest lay between Harlan and Kirkwood, although a number of other men still had hopes of being chosen for the unexpired term. Republican newspaper support was somewhat in Harlan's favor, but there were several editors who warmly espoused the cause of Samuel J. Kirkwood. Editors friendly to Harlan were perfectly willing that he should resign his Cabinet position and resume his seat in the United States Senate. They declared that their favorite

had gone into the Cabinet "against his own wishes and at the urgent and continued solicitations of President Lincoln and leading friends of the Union."[243] Therefore, he should now be allowed to return to the Senate if he should so desire. Furthermore, it was argued that if Harlan should be elected for the long term which began March 4, 1867, he could retain his position as Secretary almost to the close of President Johnson's administration, after which time he might be superseded anyway.[244]

The friends of Kirkwood, on the other hand, claimed that it was the general understanding when James Harlan accepted the appointment to the Cabinet that he had entirely abandoned the senatorial field. Consequently he should remain out of the contest. Moreover, it was urged that it would be subversive of the best interests of the country for Harlan to leave the Cabinet at this time. "The danger of the present crisis is from the executive, not the legislative, department of government", was the contention, "and should Mr. Harlan retire from the Cabinet we have every reason to believe his place would be filled by a 'conservative,' and the danger increased."[245]

The Eleventh General Assembly convened on January 8, 1866. A Keokuk newspaper correspondent who reached the capital city on January 5th found the Savery House well filled with legislators, State officials, clerks, "and many others of more or less notoriety, forming that indispensable part of any well regulated legislative body, 'The Third

House.'" The political atmosphere, he said, was already warm with the heat of the senatorial contest.[246]

During the early days of the session a sharp but apparently good-natured war was waged between the friends of the rival candidates. Kirkwood was charged with being opposed to equal suffrage and with having shirked that issue in the last State campaign. He was accused of having agreed with the friends of Harlan to take the short term as a means of defeating a northern candidate. And finally it was insinuated that all of the "War Governor's" military appointments had been made with a view to aiding his own cause in the senatorial race. It was urged against Harlan that to reëlect him would be heaping favors on one man at the risk of weakening the organization of the party. Furthermore, it was hinted about that Harlan had enriched himself in the Department of the Interior.[247] "Then this one was a Methodist", ran an observer's account of the arguments used, "while the other is a Nothingarian; (that is, he believes in nothing and lives up to it,) and, therefore, none but Methodists should support the first, while everybody else and his wife ought to support the latter!"[248]

The Republican caucus was held sometime during the first week of the session. Three ballots were necessary for the choice of a candidate for the long term. James Harlan and Samuel J. Kirkwood were nearly tied on the first ballot, while three other men each received a few votes. On the second ballot two

names were abandoned, and on the third James Harlan received four votes more than the number necessary for a choice. Only one ballot was required to choose a candidate for the short term. Samuel J. Kirkwood received eighty votes, while the highest number received by any of his six competitors was sixteen.[249]

The action of the caucus virtually amounted to an election, for the Republicans were overwhelmingly in the majority in both houses of the General Assembly. A joint convention was held on January 13, 1866, and the choice of the caucus was heartily confirmed. Kirkwood and Harlan each received one hundred and eighteen votes, as opposed to twenty votes received by J. F. Stoneman and H. H. Trimble, the Democratic candidates for the short and the long terms respectively. Fitz Henry Warren also received one vote for the short term.[250]

The outcome was naturally a disappointment to those who had hoped for Kirkwood's election to the long term, and some of them were quick to assign reasons for Harlan's success. "I thought on the first day of the Session that Gov. Kirkwood would be elected", read the correspondence to an Iowa City paper which came from Des Moines. "But the lobby force consisted of two Indian Agents, two Paymasters, one Quartermaster, one Special Mail Agent, four Assessors and Collectors of Int. Rev. three or four Postmasters, one Brig. Gen. direct from Washington and Methodist Preachers, without number or piety." "I have had cause since coming

here to change somewhat, my religious views", continued the same writer. "I now believe fully in the doctrine of total depravity, and I *know* that men can and do fall from grace!"[251]

There can be little doubt, however, but that the result was eminently satisfactory to a majority of the Republicans of Iowa, for James Harlan had won for himself great popularity by his course in the Senate during the momentous years preceding the Civil War. And in the interval until Harlan should take his seat the State would be ably represented by another who had already proved his loyalty to her interests and to the principles of Republicanism.

IX

THE ELECTION OF WRIGHT AND HOWELL IN 1870

The senatorial election of 1870 resembled the one which preceded it in that there was a long and a short term to be filled. The long continued strain of the impeachment trial of Andrew Johnson had brought physical exhaustion and accompanying illness to James W. Grimes, who had faithfully represented Iowa in the United States Senate since 1859. In the spring of 1869 he sailed for Europe hoping that rest and a complete change of environment would speedily restore him to health. But he had not been on the continent many weeks when he suffered a severe attack of paralysis. Realizing that he would doubtless never be able to resume his seat in the Senate, during the summer he sent his resignation to Governor Merrill.[252] Thus, not only was there a successor to Grimes to be chosen for the regular term beginning March 4, 1871, but there was a vacancy for the short period of the unexpired term to be filled.

For some reason very little heat was developed in the race for the senatorship until shortly before the meeting of the legislature. It is possible that the resignation of Grimes detracted somewhat from

the bitterness and excitement which earlier in the year had been expected. While the vacancy was an added prize to be fought for, it nevertheless drew off from the contest for the long term a number of aspirants of lesser calibre, and thus decreased the intensity of the rivalry. Moreover, the men who soon came to be recognized as the leading candidates for the long term conducted their campaigns with a dignity and apparent good will which scorned personal attacks or vilification of rivals.

During the fall campaign there was some discussion of the senatorial question. In Lee County for instance the Republicans in convention declared their faith in the integrity and ability of George G. Wright, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Iowa, whom they endorsed as their preference for United States Senator.[253] Similar expressions of approval from other counties gave evidence of the Judge's popularity.

Apparently in some minds there was a hope of executive appointment to fill the vacancy, for Governor Merrill was beset with clamorous inquiries as to the course he intended to pursue. In November he made a reply which dispelled all dreams of such a consummation. He stated that the election of United States Senators was clearly a right and duty of the legislature, and that appointment by the Governor should only be resorted to in case of an emergency, which in this case did not exist. He would, therefore, leave the place open until the meeting of the General Assembly only a few weeks later.[254] This

eminently wise attitude of Governor Merrill met with general sanction, although there were not wanting those who thought they could detect in it a scheme to appropriate the senatorship for himself.

A correspondent to a Chicago newspaper who signed himself "Ret", writing late in November, 1869, reviewed in an apparently unbiased manner the contest as it had progressed thus far. "Behind the Legislature, among the people, among the farming and laboring classes," he said there would be a power moving in favor of George W. Wright which would be difficult to defeat. The purity and honesty of Wright's public and private life, as well as his recognized abilities, were the qualities which gained for him a warm place in the affections of the people. "As to locality,— a question which will enter very largely into the fight," continued the writer, "Mr. Wright's position [at Des Moines] is one that is considered favorable by some and unfavorable by others. . . . The Senators have so long been in the extreme South that the extreme North will make locality one of the strongest arguments in their presentation of a candidate."

William B. Allison of Dubuque, who since 1862 had brought honor to himself and his State by distinguished service in the lower house of Congress, was the man upon whom the north generally united. Furthermore, the correspondent asserted that Allison had many strong friends in the southern part of the State, among them being James F. Wilson, who, in spite of much urging, had refused to enter

the contest himself. It was suggested that in addition to this element of personal friendship between the two men, "it should be remembered, if the North has a Senator in the seat of Grimes, the South may ask and receive the Senator that will take the seat of Harlan, by which time Mr. Wilson may be more Senatorially willing than he now is."

Dennis N. Cooley and George R. Willett, of Dubuque and Decorah respectively, were other men spoken of as possibilities for the long term. The former especially had a good following and numbered among his friends James Harlan, who would have the same motive for supporting Cooley that might influence Wilson in the case of Allison. The name of Governor Samuel Merrill was being used in many quarters, and "Ret" expressed the opinion that he would be elected if the necessity for a compromise candidate should arise.

Prominent among the candidates for the short term were William Vandever and Josiah B. Grinnell. Both of these men had been in Congress, and Grinnell had taken an active part in the debates during the early years of Reconstruction. It was in consequence of bitter charges made by him during a debate on the Freedman's Bureau in 1866 that Grinnell had been violently assaulted by Lovell H. Rousseau of Kentucky. Grinnell was entirely unprepared for the attack, and before he could prevent it he received several blows on the head from a heavy cane. The fact that Rousseau escaped with nothing more severe than a public reprimand

seems to have been a great disappointment to Grinnell's constituents. For in commenting upon his chances for the senatorship the correspondent said that "be the notion right or wrong, the expression is very common in Iowa that Mr. Grinnell could have from this people anything he would ask, if he had given Rousseau 'as good or better than he sent.' "[255]

These then were the men whose names appeared most often in the political columns of Iowa newspapers during the weeks immediately preceding the meeting of the General Assembly on January 10, 1870. Various predictions as to the outcome were made, but it was generally conceded that the real contest for the long term lay between George G. Wright and William B. Allison. It was the old struggle of section against section reappearing in full vigor in spite of efforts to repress it. The occasional bitterness exhibited during the campaign was due more to this sectional jealousy than to the rivalry of the leading candidates.

The convening of the legislature, as usual, was the signal which brought flocking to Des Moines a host of political retainers and lobbyists. Wright, Allison, and Merrill were all represented in the capital city by ardent supporters several days before the opening of the legislative session. "From Friday the 7th up to Thursday evening of the Caucus", was the graphic account given by Benjamin F. Gue, at the time editor of a Fort Dodge newspaper and a strong champion of Judge Wright, "fresh

delegations of Allison men arrived on every train. They swarmed in every part of the city, overwhelmed the Savery, gobbled up every member of the Legislature upon his arrival, worked with that determined energy, confidence and assurance of success, that intimidated the inexperienced, shook the confidence of many of their most sanguine opponents, and carried over into their ranks many of the new members by sheer force of bluster and apparent confidence of certain victory. A few of the old veterans however, who had passed through such fights before, were not alarmed, but quietly watched every move, and never for a moment ceased their earnest work needed to match the tireless vigilance of their wily opponents.''[256]

It was claimed that the Allison forces were especially well organized and that they were supported by the combined railroad influence of the State, as well as by a majority of the Federal officials from Iowa. Nevertheless, on the first day of the session Aylett R. Cotton, an acknowledged friend of Judge Wright, was elected Speaker of the House by a large majority. This election seems to have brought alarm to the Allison camp, and if a contemporary writer is to be believed, ''dispatches were hurried off to bring in more help.'' The next three days were filled with excitement, and as the time for the caucus drew near each side was confident of victory.[257]

On Thursday evening, January 13th, the Republican caucus was held in the hall of the House of

Representatives. One hundred and twenty-seven legislators were present, and consequently it would require sixty-four votes to nominate. After some preliminary skirmishing the caucus proceeded to an informal ballot for the long term. A counting of the ballots revealed the fact that George G. Wright lacked only one vote of nomination. William B. Allison, much to the surprise of everyone, received only thirty-nine votes; while Samuel Merrill received twenty-four, and Samuel J. Kirkwood one. One formal ballot was all that was needed, for Wright received sixty-six, or two more than the required number of votes. Allison forged ahead to forty-seven, Merrill dropped to thirteen, and one solitary man persisted in voting for Kirkwood.

Following the nomination for the long term an informal ballot for the short term was taken. Josiah B. Grinnell and James B. Howell stood in the lead, receiving thirty-nine and thirty-eight votes respectively. Nine other men were given votes ranging in number from one to twenty-four. On the first formal ballot the number of names was reduced to six. No one, however, received the required number of votes. Two more names were dropped on the second ballot; but again there was no choice, although Howell was rapidly gaining over Grinnell. On the third ballot Howell received seventy votes and was declared the nominee for the short term.[258]

Seventeen men constituted the Democratic caucus, the deliberations of which were comparatively uninteresting. Thomas W. Claggett of Keokuk, a

well known figure in Iowa politics, was declared the nominee of the party for the long term by acclamation. An informal ballot for the short term resulted in eight votes for John T. Stoneman, five for W. J. Knight, three for William E. Leffingwell, and one for D. M. Harris. No formal ballot was taken, the nomination going to Stoneman by acclamation.[259]

The senatorial question was virtually decided in the Republican caucus, and it only remained for the choice to be confirmed by the legislature as an official body. This year for the first time a new system of electing United States Senators was employed. In July, 1866, Congress passed an act providing that on the second Tuesday of the session preceding the expiration of a senatorial term, each house of the legislature should choose separately a man for Senator. At twelve o'clock on the following day the houses were to meet in joint convention and the journals were to be compared. If it was found that the same man had received a majority of the votes in each house he was to be declared elected. In case the same man had not received a majority in each house, or if for some reason one house had failed to make a choice, the joint convention was to proceed with the election in the old manner.[260]

Consequently on Tuesday, January 18, 1870, each house of the General Assembly voted separately for United States Senator. In each house George G. Wright received the solid Republican vote, which was a large majority, for the long term over Thomas W. Claggett, the Democratic nominee. James B.

Howell was equally victorious over John T. Stoneman in the vote for the vacancy.[261] At noon on the following day the joint convention went through the form of declaring that Wright and Howell had been duly elected Senators.[262]

George G. Wright was a man well fitted both by training and by knowledge of the needs of his constituents for the position to which he was elected. He had lived in Iowa since Territorial days, having entered upon the practice of law at Keosauqua in 1840. He had served as Prosecuting Attorney of Van Buren County, and as State Senator. In 1850 he was a Whig candidate for Congress, but the declining strength of his party defeated him. His legal ability received recognition in 1855 when he was elected Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Iowa, and it was from this exalted position that he stepped into the senatorship on March 4, 1871. The six years during which he represented Iowa in the Senate brought added credit to a name which must ever stand in the annals of the State as synonymous with honesty and uprightness in public and private life. The only regret is that Wright was not chosen for the vacancy as well as for the long term. James B. Howell was eminently worthy of the honor conferred upon him, but his period of service was so short that he could be little more than a silent member. By the time he had become sufficiently acquainted with the manner of conducting business in the Senate to be of real service to his constituency he was forced to retire.

X

THE ELECTION OF WILLIAM B. ALLISON IN 1872

Scarcely had George G. Wright been chosen United States Senator from Iowa, in January, 1870, before conferences were held and plans were made for the contest which would occur two years later, when a successor to James Harlan would be elected. William B. Allison, apparently against his own inclinations, was persuaded by his friends to commence immediate preparations for another race for the position which had so lately been denied him. And so even at that early day a quiet canvass was begun.[263]

But it was not until the midsummer of 1871 that the question of the senatorial succession claimed public attention to any great extent. From that time, however, until the close of the struggle in January, 1872, there was waged a campaign which is one of the most interesting political contests in Iowa history. It was preëminently a contest between persons. Throughout the weeks and months of the campaign the newspapers, for the most part lined up on one side or the other, teemed with bitter and abusive personal attacks. The lives and records of the leading candidates were paraded before the pub-

lic with a vindictiveness which left unexploited no incident which could possibly be turned into political capital. Locality also played its usual rôle. The northern part of the State had never had a Republican United States Senator, and it clamored more loudly than ever for this coveted recognition. National questions were little discussed, except as they were made the occasion for personal attacks.

It was early recognized that the real contest would lie between James Harlan and William B. Allison. The claims of each man were presented with comparative calmness and moderation until the latter part of June, 1871, when an acrimonious debate was aroused by an insignificant incident. It seems that J. P. Newman, Chaplain of the Metropolitan Methodist Church of Washington, D. C., the church which James Harlan attended, wrote a number of letters to Methodist clergymen in Iowa urging them to support Harlan for the senatorship.[264] In some way this letter came into the hands of Harlan's enemies, and a great furor was raised over it. Whether true or not, the statement was made that the letter had been lithographed and sent broadcast among the Methodist clergy. In long columns of editorials the letter was denounced as an attempt to make a political machine out of the Methodist church, and as an appeal to sectarian prejudice for political purposes. In columns just as long the editors friendly to Harlan denied that the letter was more than a personal one written by Newman to a few friends. They asserted that its contents were

perfectly honorable and that it had nothing to do with sectarianism.

James Harlan took a hand in the fray and wrote a long letter to the public. He denied the statement that Newman had sent a lithographed letter to Iowa. He could not understand, he said, why he had been singled out for persecution because of his religious affiliations, when the church connections of other candidates now or in previous years had not been questioned. He considered the whole agitation as an effort on the part of his opponents to "secure a compact combination of all 'free thinkers' within the Republican organization, under cover of a foreign language, in favor of a candidate; and then a combination of the members of various religious denominations, by an appeal to sectarian prejudice; and lastly, to intimidate, silence, and render inactive, those who may happen to be members of another denomination by an outcry against church influence."[265]

Harlan's letter served only to intensify the bitterness of the struggle. "What right has Mr. Harlan to assert that the opposition manifested towards him is because of his church fellowship", asked Jacob Rich, editor of *The Dubuque Times* and a warm friend of Allison, "and that Methodism in his case appears as a badge of dishonor? Such a statement gravely put forth by such a man as Mr. Harlan, under such circumstances, is the most transparent demagoguery. . . . We can not believe that Mr. Harlan is likely to enhance the degree of respect felt for him, by this attempt to make himself appear as a martyr to christian principles".[266]

Other editors came to Harlan's support with declarations that it was to his honor that he had such a good standing in his church. Harlan's traducers were likened to a party of young men, who, when out on a lark, sometimes ridicule one of their number who refuses to join in their carousals by calling him a "Sunday School Teacher".[267] For more than a month the papers were full of comments on the Newman letter, and then it was gradually forgotten in the discussion of other things.

Another episode which occurred about this same time was referred to by James Harlan in his charge of an attempt being made to draw together all the "free thinkers" in the party "under cover of a foreign language". Theodore Guelich, the editor of a German newspaper printed at Burlington, published what purported to be an address to the Germans of Iowa adopted by a German convention. It is evident that parts of the address as published, especially the part referring by name to James Harlan, were without authority from the convention.[268] At any rate it brought down upon the editor a storm of condemnation from all sides. The term "liberal Republicans" as used in the address was now interpreted by some of Harlan's friends as meaning liberal in the religious sense. The charge of a combination of "free thinkers" against Harlan was the outcome of this interpretation. The address was also denounced as an attempt to organize a nationality in politics, to array the Germans in a solid phalanx merely on the grounds of a common mother

tongue, and for the purpose of gratifying the spite of a few self-constituted leaders. It was branded as "a hateful and disgusting piece of 'Knownothingism' which ought to have and must have no place in American politics."[269]

Meanwhile the sectional plea was being strongly urged in support of William B. Allison. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that the adherents of either candidate were confined to any particular section of the State. Up in Clayton County the editor of the *McGregor News* strongly favored James Harlan, and even went so far as to venture the opinion early in the campaign that two-thirds of the Republicans of northern Iowa had the same preference.[270] The leading Republican journals in Sioux City, Fort Dodge, and other places in the northern and western parts of the State were arrayed on the side of Harlan. On the other hand the *Iowa State Register* at Des Moines and several newspapers published in the southern section were warm in their advocacy of Allison. Other candidates attracted scattering support without regard to locality as the contest progressed. But in the main the north was for Allison; while the south — more especially the southeast — rallied around its favorite and much-favored son, James Harlan.

The Democrats seemingly took a greater interest in the senatorial race than had usually been the case since they had been so much in the minority as to have no hope of electing a Senator from their own number. Democratic editors devoted considerable

space to comments on the leading candidates, thus furnishing fuel for the wrath of the opposing forces. Democratic praise of Allison was sure to bring forth sarcastic remarks from the friends of Harlan, and vice versa. Thus an editor declared that since the "endeavor to weaken Senator Harlan before the people" had begun, "the whole pack of Democratic hounds hearing the yelp of one join in a general chorus dogging the track of the man whom they hate because of his high services to the country and his exalted ability; all this is well for him." For, he said, "if democrats take sides as between two Republicans, the one they attack we should most respect."[271] A Burlington editor was indiscreet enough to print a number of quotations from Democratic newspapers in support of Harlan, and he was duly ridiculed by an Allison paper.[272]

The attitude of the two candidates toward the administration of President Grant was another matter which was made a basis for criticism, and was one of the few instances in which national issues of the day played a part in the contest. A revolt in the Republican party, chiefly against the extreme coercive measures employed in connection with Reconstruction in the South, had resulted in the formation of the so-called "liberal" wing of the party, which nominated Horace Greeley for President in May, 1872. During the senatorial campaign in Iowa it was a favorite pastime of Allison's detractors to insist that he should not be elected because he was in sympathy with this new movement of opposition

to the administration. It was doubtless true that Allison's strongest support came from this element which was composed largely of the younger men in the party; but his friends stoutly asserted that he had always been a strong upholder of Grant's policies. While Harlan was not classed with the liberals by his opponents, it was charged that in many respects he and some of his most prominent followers were at variance with the principles of Republicanism as embodied in the policies of the administration.[273]

So violent an agitation of the senatorial question so long before even the legislators were chosen was deprecated in many quarters. Judging from the contest as carried on it was declared that a person might think that there were only two men in Iowa eligible to the office of Senator. Editors who took this view proceeded to name a number of other men who were worthy of the position and who were being talked of by the people. Among those named were Frank W. Palmer, William W. Belknap, Samuel J. Kirkwood, William M. Stone, Henry O'Connor, Grenville M. Dodge, C. F. Clarkson, Samuel Merrill, and James F. Wilson.[274]

Among these secondary candidates James F. Wilson of Fairfield rapidly gained the strongest support. Indeed, it soon became apparent that he might hold the balance of power and seriously endanger the prospects of the two leading contestants. Wilson was a well-known figure in Iowa politics. He had served in both houses of the General As-

sembly of the State, and had been in Congress four terms as Representative from the First District. Consequently, when, about the first of September, he definitely announced his willingness to be considered for the senatorship a goodly following immediately rallied to his support. "The bitter strife raging in the Republican party has born glorious fruit," came the enthusiastic greeting from Marshalltown, "in as much as it has been the means of calling out from his voluntary retirement, one of the greatest men of this nation. . . . We reiterate, that the U. S. Senator question is as effectually disposed of as though the election had already been held, and James F. Wilson is the man."[275] A number of other editors in different sections of the State took up the fight for Wilson — some because they believed he was the strongest man, others because they were weary of the struggle between Harlan and Allison and were ready for a compromise candidate. Newspaper opinion was a fair index to public sentiment. At a convention of Butler, Floyd, and Mitchell counties, held at Charles City, a vote of preference for United States Senator was taken. The result was that Wilson received more votes even than Allison, although the convention was held right in the heart of the latter's territory.[276]

The opposition to Wilson came chiefly from the Harlan camp. One of Harlan's most ardent supporters took it upon himself on several occasions to charge Wilson with unfairness to Allison in thus entering the race after having shown every evidence

of friendliness to the northern candidate.[277] Perhaps this was an effort to stir up bitterness between the friends of Allison and those of Wilson, but if so it failed to accomplish the desired end. Allison newspapers paid but little attention to the Wilson boom, and this fact led to the belief in some quarters that it was merely a diversion for Allison's benefit.

As the time for the State elections drew near frequent complaints were made that the question of the senatorial succession was overshadowing all others, and that in some localities it was imperiling the success of the Republican legislative ticket. "It is strongly intimated that Mr. Harlan's friends desire the defeat of ex-Gov. Kirkwood for State Senator in the Johnson County District", ran a communication in a Des Moines newspaper. "I can hardly credit it. If Harlanism is the defeat of the Republican nominations, in the fear that Republicans elected may support Mr. Allison, Mr. Wilson or Gov. Merrill, it is about time that we run all our campaigns on personal issues and not on the great issues of the nation and the Republican party."[278] Jacob Rich of Dubuque in referring to the bolting of legislative nominations asserted that the bolting occurred only in districts in which the Republicans had not nominated candidates favorable to Harlan.[279]

Down in the southeastern corner of the State political affairs were in a like unfortunate condition. "As we understand it", was an editorial comment on the situation, "the powerful malcontents are not

Allison men in any strict sense — they are simply and hotly anti-Harlan, and favor any good man's election over him. We have had all proper respect for Mr. Harlan, but we do not believe that he is of sufficient state or national importance, or of sufficient importance to any but the local office-holding and office-seeking class, to justify the throwing of five Republican counties to the dogs. Certain localities in the upper part of the State are in like manner foaming at the mouth, having been gashed by Allisonian fangs. This *is,* truly, a nice fight!"[280]

After the election, which resulted in an overwhelming Republican victory, the charges which had been made in prediction were reiterated in retrospection. In some counties the friends of Allison were made to shoulder the blame for Democratic victories over Republican candidates known to favor Harlan. In other districts like censure was heaped upon Harlan's supporters. The fight now assumed a more bitter and determined character than before. Every possible effort was made through the press and through personal solicitation to influence the legislators elect. The partisans evinced a greater disposition to attack the record and reputation of the leader of the opposing forces than to adduce elaborate arguments in support of their own candidate. The careers of both James Harlan and William B. Allison were now held up to the public in a spirit of malignant criticism. Allison, however, fared easier than his opponent, for Harlan was subjected to a grilling such as has seldom if ever fallen

to the lot of a candidate in a political campaign in Iowa.

The most serious charges brought against Harlan were in regard to his conduct as Secretary of the Interior during the year from May, 1865, to July, 1866, in which he held that position. It was asserted that Harlan had secured the passage of a joint resolution by Congress diverting large sums of money for the purpose of clothing and feeding the Indians in the southwestern part of the United States. This money, it was claimed, had been fraudulently used. Enormous prices had been paid for grain to the firm of Perry Fuller and Company, and a portion of the profit thus derived was employed in Harlan's service in the senatorial campaign against Kirkwood in 1865. Harlan, who formerly had lived very plainly, about this time was said to have purchased an expensive house in Washington and to have furnished it in magnificent style.

Another item in the indictment of James Harlan in connection with the secretaryship was that he had caused to be placed upon the pension rolls the names of nearly three hundred Indians, in defiance of law, custom, and usage. Through this means the government had been defrauded out of hundreds of thousands of dollars. Again it was claimed that Harlan had authorized the sale of Cherokee Indian lands without properly advertising them, and that there had been fraud in the making of a treaty with the Delaware Indians in July, 1866. Frauds were also charged in the disposition of funds appropri-

ated for the Washington aqueduct, and in the disbursement of the contingent fund of the Secretary's office — the assertion being made that Harlan's son had been allowed to draw a salary from the government while attending college.[281]

Naturally Harlan's friends did not leave charges such as these unanswered. Not only did they brand them as falsehoods, but column after column in the newspapers was devoted to statements by United States officials, high and low, and to extracts from proceedings in Congress, all going to prove that the ex-Secretary was not guilty of the corruption attributed to him.[282] But, as is usually the case, to demonstrate to a fair-minded person that the charges were groundless and to counteract the inevitable damage of such charges, however untrue, were two different things. And so up to the very last Harlan was called upon to explain his actions while in the Cabinet of President Johnson.

The principal attack upon the integrity of William B. Allison was in connection with the railroads, particularly the Sioux City and Pacific Railroad Company. James F. Wilson also received his share of denunciation on this charge. "The evidence shows", declared one of their accusers, "that they *did,* while members of Congress, unite in the organization of a railroad company, that they *did* use their *official* influence to divert a branch of the Pacific Railroad, that they *did* use their official influence to induce the President to recognize *their* company as *the* proper company to build said road,

and that it was so recognized and that the said company did build that branch and did get the government subsidies therefor."[283] Through this company, in which Allison and Wilson were leading stockholders, the northern part of the State had been deprived of the benefits of a direct connection with the Union Pacific Railroad. "It is not believed here that Mr. Allison has a clear record in regard to this railroad", wrote a Sioux City editor. "It is believed that he took hold of the enterprise purely as a speculation. It is believed that he was successful. — It is known that he attained his end by betraying confidence reposed in him. And it is further believed that he always stands ready to sell out his friends to advance his own selfish interests."[284] There is no doubt but that these charges, although energetically refuted by Allison's friends, were the cause of much opposition to him in northern Iowa.

Other arguments, however, were used against the two leading contestants during the progress of the campaign. In 1870 James Harlan while in the Senate had voted against striking out the word "white" during the discussion of an amendment to the naturalization laws. This action was now interpreted as faithlessness to Republican principles, in spite of the fact that Harlan had previously voted in favor of extending naturalization to persons of African descent.[285] The prediction that strong railroad influence would be used in Allison's favor was met by a communication from Washington stating that it was rumored "that the New York San Domingo ring

will use their influence, and probably open their purse strings, to aid in the re-election of Senator Harlan, also that the High Tariff men of Pennsylvania are earnestly at work for the same purpose."[286]

From incidents and attitudes in his public career criticism of James Harlan descended to matters of a more personal and petty character. His long service in the Senate, while used as a strong argument in his support by his friends, was at the same time one of the objections urged against his reëlection by his enemies. "Certainly Mr. Harlan, if there *is* in him that grandeur superior to all other Iowa men, has already been honored above all other Iowa men", exclaimed an opponent. "He could ask no more; if he is a true American he should not, and would not, now be found working with might and main, and greedy ambition, to secure still longer lease of power."[287] Again it was argued that the interests of the State demanded a harmonious delegation at Washington, whereas Harlan had assumed a dictatorial attitude and was distinctly an element of discord. Moreover, he had resided in the capital city of the Nation almost entirely for the past eighteen years, and had therefore lost touch with Iowa people and conditions.[288] He was accused of using the franking privilege to transmit copies of a Mount Pleasant newspaper over the State as a campaign document.[289] And to such disgraceful lengths did some of his traducers go that one editor raised the ridiculous question of whether Mrs. Harlan

possessed the qualities most desirable in a Senator's wife, since at one time in her life she had been a milliner.[290]

Allison was a comparatively new man in the arena of Iowa politics outside of his own district, he had fewer personal enemies than his opponent, and consequently he was not the target for so many bitter attacks. He was charged with holding free-trade ideas, and with having sided with the Democrats in the preceding session of Congress on the subject of tariff reform.[291] And it was claimed that he was using the Federal patronage to further his interests in the senatorial race.[292] But he escaped with but little of the malicious criticism accorded to Harlan.

The Fourteenth General Assembly convened on January 8, 1872, and for more than a week in advance the Savery Hotel in Des Moines was the scene of conferences and preliminary caucuses made up of the friends of the rival candidates. So well had the situation been canvassed that on the night of January 10th, the third day of the session, the Republicans held their senatorial caucus. Surprise and disappointment were in store for the followers of James Harlan. Sixty-one votes were necessary to nominate. On the informal ballot Allison lacked only one vote of nomination, while Harlan received the ballots of only thirty-eight men. James F. Wilson received twenty-two votes. The first formal ballot was fruitless, showing little change in the relative positions of the candidates. The second formal ballot, however, gave Allison the victory by

a margin of two votes over the necessary number, and by a majority of twenty-three over Harlan.[293]

The Democrats held a caucus on the same evening, but apparently adjourned without making any nomination.[294] It seems to have been a fairly well established custom in the minority party by this time to cast the complimentary vote for the Democratic candidate for Governor in the preceding State election, in this instance Joseph C. Knapp of Van Buren County.

The two houses of the General Assembly met in joint convention in the hall of the House of Representatives on January 17, 1872. A comparison of the journals showed that Allison had received a large majority in both houses, and he was therefore declared duly elected United States Senator for the term beginning March 4, 1873.[295]

Thus was William B. Allison ushered into the duties of the position which he held continuously until the date of his death, August 4, 1908. The result was accepted with good grace by his defeated rival who now bade farewell to official life. He was still to participate as a candidate in other campaigns, but his power was forever broken. Throughout his political career James Harlan was pursued by a violent and unrelenting persecution which had now gained its end in his downfall, but the impartial reader of history must accord him a place among Iowa's leading statesmen.

XI

THE ELECTION OF SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD IN 1876

The nomination of Samuel J. Kirkwood for Governor by the Republican State Convention on June 30, 1875, may be said to have been the first act in the drama of the senatorial election of 1876. It was a nomination virtually forced upon the reluctant ex-Governor by an enthusiastic convention, in spite of the fact that his aspiration to the senatorship was known. If the political enemies of the "War Governor" had been casting about for means to harass him they could have hit upon no better scheme, for the nomination and subsequent election as Governor proved to be a stumbling block in his pathway to a seat in the United States Senate. Within two days after the convention Kirkwood received a letter from a friend who ruefully informed him that his nomination for Governor meant his "funeral for Senator".[296]

The newspapers immediately took up the controversy. "The election of Gov. Kirkwood to the U. S. Senate next winter seems to be a foregone conclusion", wrote an admirer in the central part of the State. "His nomination for Governor, against his protest, removes all possibility of the charge

[that] he sought it as a stepping stone to the Senatorship, and the enthusiasm with which his nomination is received throughout the State evidences the fact that he is the most popular man in the party and the people's favorite."[297] This view, however, was by no means universally accepted. "While Gov. Kirkwood has reason to be proud of the manner in which the party has expressed its confidence and respect, it does not follow that it will make him Senator", declared a Davenport editor. "His position has its advantages, and possibly its disadvantages,— this only the canvass can determine."[298]

As the State campaign progressed during the summer and early autumn the question of the senatorial succession received its due share of attention, and other names, including that of James Harlan, began to appear in the public print as participants in the race. Some of the bitterness of the preceding contest still rankled in the breasts of certain of Harlan's opponents to such an extent that the editor of the *Sioux City Journal* felt called upon to remonstrate against the tendency in some quarters "to follow Mr. Harlan with the ghosts of a past that Iowa Republicans should be willing to put so far as may be out of sight — for the Allison-Harlan campaign was one to be ashamed of."[299]

The usual amount of space in the newspapers was devoted to emphasizing the importance of electing legislators of the proper political principles. It was pointed out that the State Senators elected that

year would assist in choosing two full-term United States Senators. Furthermore, Republican editors cited the alarming fact that the lower house of Congress was Democratic by a large majority, and urged voters to rally to the polls in support of their party's candidates. "During the period for which our next Senator is chosen", rang out the warning, "the United States Senate *may* become the only barrier to the complete and unlimited power of those who fought for and sympathized with the slaveholders rebellion — *may* become the only breakwater against that sea of irredeemable rag money with which the Democrats threaten to overwhelm us."[300] The seriousness of the problems confronting the Nation were also used as an argument against "the candidacies of phenomenally small men" in the race for the senatorship. It was "not a year for . . . . minnows", but those who "would play whale at all ought to be fish of some size."[301]

Meanwhile Kirkwood seemed reluctant to plunge into the whirlpool of the political contest which lay between him and the desired goal. Indeed, it is a tribute to him that at this time and throughout the entire campaign it required the repeated and impatient urgings of his friends to induce him to employ even the most legitimate and honorable means to push his own cause. J. N. Dewey, a faithful and energetic supporter, wrote from Des Moines and pointed out the necessity of getting to work, provided Kirkwood had "decided to plunge in and make a bold, open stand-up fight for it, when the proper

time for open offensive action" should arrive. "I know", he said, "how natural it is in you to shrink from any such contest — how loth to say, or to do anything *of* yourself *for* yourself . . . . you must shake off all that kind of sentiment."[302] And later in the year Jacob Rich wrote from Dubuque expostulating with Kirkwood for his hesitancy to make a thorough canvass of the legislators. "There are many *honorable* ways to reach men", he declared, "and these ways you and the immediate advisers about you must study . . . . There is honest expenditure — a legitimate use of means — in this."[303]

Kirkwood's lieutenants, however, were fully aware of the necessity of playing the game of politics according to the rules if they expected to win. Numerous candidates, some of them professional office-seekers and not over-scrupulous in their methods, had appeared in the field. Moreover, the fall elections passed, leaving the State still in the control of the Republican party with the unwilling Kirkwood as Governor-elect.

By the middle of November five men — Samuel J. Kirkwood, James Harlan, William W. Belknap, George W. McCrary, and Hiram Price — stood out clearly as possible winners in the race for the senatorship. Newspaper support was quite impartially divided between these five men, although it was generally admitted that the chances were in favor of either Kirkwood or Harlan. In fact almost up to the last day it was difficult to predict with any degree of

certainty what the outcome would be. The editor of the *Pella Blade* thought "it would be a bad precedent to establish — that of making the executive chair only a stepping stone to the U. S. Senate. Either Belknap, Harlan or McCrary will suit us, but Kirkwood not at all."[304] Another editor, however, objected to the attempt "to crowd Gov. Kirkwood off the track because he has just been elected Governor", since it was well known that the office had been virtually forced upon him.[305]

From Mt. Pleasant came the statement that "Price has lost ground, even among temperance men. Belknap is too light timber altogether, and McCrary, the best man mentioned for the place, has but few followers, because neither he nor his friends will stoop to trade or barter for votes".[306] Sectionalism in this contest seemingly had little to do with the distribution of the support of the various candidates. George W. McCrary stood equally in favor with an editor in northern Iowa, who thus stated his senatorial preference:

> Not in favor of Kirkwood, he is Governor for the next two years; not in favor of Harlan, he is tired; not in favor of Belknap, he is a military man; not in favor of Price, he is being freely used as a compromise candidate; but in favor of George W. McCrary, the honest, the able, the popular man.[307]

While the canvass as a whole was quiet and good-natured when compared with the senatorial contest which preceded it, there were a few instances of vindictiveness. James Harlan was not permitted to

escape a revival of the charges made during the former campaign and during the Credit Mobilier investigations in Congress. "If we take all for Gospel truth that the few opponents of Mr. Harlan are saying about him through the press and in the byways", facetiously commented a Harlan admirer, "hanging would be a gentle death for him, when compared to his deserts."[308] William W. Belknap met with objection in some quarters, as has been indicated, because he was a military man, and also on the alleged ground that his Republicanism was not as strong as it might be. But against the latter charge he found ready defenders even among those who did not favor him for the senatorship.[309]

Samuel J. Kirkwood was the man, however, who bore the brunt of hostile criticism. From the time of his acceptance of the nomination as Governor until the day of his election to the Senate the governorship was held up by his adversaries as a bar to his hopes. And it must be admitted that many of his personal admirers accepted this objection as valid. Aside from this argument which had some real foundation, certain factional leaders, especially of the Harlan camp, seized every opportunity to pick flaws in Kirkwood's record or actions.

On November 18th the *Sioux City Journal* published an extract from a letter written by Kirkwood, apparently in response to certain editorial comments. "You think I am losing ground for the reason that I have not 'workers out cultivating the ground' ", wrote the Governor. "It may be that I

am losing for that reason, and if so, I must continue to lose. I cannot make a 'dog fight' of this matter. . . . I think I know myself pretty well, and I feel sure that *I would not want the position if I did not think the Republicans of the State desired me to have it.*" The people, he said, could easily make their wishes on the subject known to their representatives in the legislature. In his opinion the belief that contests for seats in the Senate had at times been decided upon other grounds than the general wish of the people had hurt the Republican party; and he predicted that unless such a belief could be removed the time would soon come when the election of Republican Senators would be less frequent than it had been in the past.[310]

The editor of the *Burlington Hawk-Eye,* who, as a matter of fact was the manager of the Harlan forces, took immediate exception to this seemingly inoffensive letter of Governor Kirkwood. "What does the Governor mean by this?", the editor demanded. "Is it a prediction merely, or both a prediction and a threat? It is a good deal for any man to assume that he is the choice of a majority of all the Republicans of the State, for any office before that choice has been expressed, and it becomes quite a grave matter when he either predicts, threatens, or even intimates that *he* must be elected or no Republican shall be."[311] Two weeks later the editor again referred to Kirkwood's "pretense of superior public virtue" in a manner which indicated that he still smarted under the term "dog-fight" which the

Governor-elect had used in speaking of the contest.[312]

The comparatively insignificant record made by Kirkwood while he occupied a seat in the United States Senate for a brief period from 1865 to 1867 was also held up by the Burlington editor as a reason for not electing Kirkwood to the senatorship. He would be glad, he said, "to cover the whole affair with the mantle of charity, if the Governor-elect and would-be Senator had not found himself, in his own estimation, to be altogether too great a man for the official position in which the people of Iowa have placed him." But the editor believed that a man's qualifications for an office should be judged by his past achievements in the same position. And he could not find anything in Kirkwood's legislative record to entitle him to the senatorship.[313]

Meanwhile, Kirkwood was apparently endeavoring in a quiet manner, through correspondence and otherwise, to learn the attitude of the members of the legislature toward the various senatorial aspirants and especially toward himself. But it is doubtful whether he received much encouragement from the replies. A great many of the legislators were unwilling to commit themselves on the subject; while others frankly stated that they considered the acceptance of the governorship as an objection to an election to the Senate. "I am satisfied that you would make a good senator;" wrote John Palmer from Clarksville, "but would 'Newbold' make a good Governor, provided you were made Senator?"[314]

From a legislator at Cresco came the admonition that "having been elected Governor in good faith, there should be reasons good and strong, before supplanting the choice of the people so royally expressed — the schemes of politicians to the contrary notwithstanding."[315]

There were occasional gleams of encouragement for Kirkwood, however, when he received letters like one from J. B. Shepardson of Marble Rock. "I have looked over the field pretty closely", he wrote, "and am rather favorable to the Election of the old War Horse Governor."[316]

With the assembling of the legislature in January the contest as usual centered in Des Moines. Friends of the various candidates journeyed to the capital city to aid the legislators in making the right choice. Caleb Baldwin was recognized as a valiant warrior in the Kirkwood camp, as were also Jacob Rich and other leaders from northeastern Iowa, a circumstance which confirmed the belief that Allison was in sympathy with Kirkwood. Not all of the politicians of Dubuque, Allison's home, however, favored Kirkwood, for J. K. Graves from that city and a prominent member of the House of Representatives was active in his espousal of the Harlan cause. The Belknap and Price camps were by no means deserted, but were more quiet, and apparently rested on their arms in the hope of a deadlock between Kirkwood and Harlan. George W. McCrary likewise had his supporters, prominent among them being Samuel S. Sample of Keokuk.[317]

The time for the caucus was not generally known until the evening of January 11th, when it was announced for the following evening. "The announcement created a decided sensation, and made a stir through the great crowd, and was followed by a tumult at all of the different headquarters. It precipitated things with a rush, and made a busy night of it." There was "also much telegraphing to and fro, and plenty of bracing-up messages from home ordered up by all sides."[318] Good humor, nevertheless, prevailed throughout the day, in spite of the number of candidates and the rivalry for the coveted position.

The Republican caucus on the evening of January 12th was an orderly and good-natured meeting. Senator Fred A. Teale called attention to the rickety condition of the building in which the caucus met and warned the members "against indulgence in tumultuous applause." Then to the surprise of nearly everyone Senator John S. Woolson arose and read a letter from James Harlan requesting that his name be withdrawn from the list of candidates.[319] The chief cause of this withdrawal was learned on the following day when it became known that Harlan had been called to the bedside of his son, who had been seized with a fatal illness while on his way to California.

The withdrawal of Harlan's name upset many calculations, and so the informal ballot was watched with great interest. When the votes were counted it was found that no one had received the required

fifty-six votes. Samuel J. Kirkwood was clearly in the lead with fifty-three votes as compared with twenty-four recorded in favor of his nearest competitor, Hiram Price. The first formal ballot, however, resulted in fifty-six votes for Kirkwood, and he was forthwith declared the unanimous choice of the caucus.[320]

In commenting upon the result of the caucus the editor of the *State Register* stated his belief that Harlan's withdrawal insured the choice of Kirkwood. "It was considered a general sign", he said, "that the field was abandoned to the Governor, and so several of Harlan's supporters went straight to the winning camp, and not to Price, as the latter gentleman had good reason to expect." He considered Harlan's course as eminently wise from a political standpoint, since it "left him without the weight of a direct defeat to bear, gave the other candidates a clear field, and took him out of the contest in a better shape than anything else besides a nomination could have taken him."[321] The same editor predicted that the outcome would bring about a recasting of political lines and sympathies all over the State and a complicated contest for the senatorship two years hence.[322] The last part of this prediction, at least, can hardly be said to have been fulfilled.

What would have been the result had James Harlan permitted his name to remain on the list can only be a matter of conjecture. The fact remains that on January 19, 1876, the General Assembly met in joint

convention and declared Samuel J. Kirkwood duly elected United States Senator from Iowa for six years beginning on March 4, 1877.[323] The acceptance of the governorship, therefore, in the end did not prove an insurmountable obstacle in the pathway to the Senate. As will be seen, Kirkwood did not fill out the entire term for which he was elected, but in 1881 accepted a call to a seat in the President's Cabinet.

XII

THE ELECTION OF WILLIAM B. ALLISON IN 1878

One of the most bitter struggles in the history of Iowa politics marked the first election of William B. Allison to the United States Senate in 1872; but six years later, at the expiration of his term, he was reëlected with scarcely a trace of opposition — a circumstance that is rare in the annals of senatorial elections in Iowa. Indeed, the reëlection of James W. Grimes in 1864 is the only previous senatorial contest in Iowa history that was characterized by anything like the same degree of unanimity.

The latter part of the year 1877 and the early months of 1878 may almost be said to have constituted an "era of good feeling" in State politics. There was a conspicuous absence of factions in the Republican party, which was strongly in the ascendancy. Moreover, the opposition of many Republicans to the acts and policies of President Hayes aided in allaying party antagonism. The prevailing spirit of amity manifested itself especially in the legislature of 1878, where John Y. Stone, a Republican, was elected Speaker of the House with only five dissenting votes.

As usual, comments upon the approaching sena-

torial election began to appear in the newspapers early in the fall of 1877 and continued up to the time of the election. With only a few exceptions these comments advocated the return of William B. Allison and reflect the same attitude on the part of a majority of the people of the State. Even the sectionalism so evident in previous and subsequent contests was absent, for the approval of Senator Allison was equally strong from all parts of the State. "The Legislature just chosen will have, as one of its duties, the election of a United States Senator, for the Allison succession", ran an editorial in a newspaper in south central Iowa, "and so far as we have been able to see, the opinion is universally in favor of Mr. Allison as his own successor. This appears to us to be the fit thing to do."[324]

From Onawa in the northwest came the statement that "the people of Iowa will take pleasure in returning to the Senate one whom all Iowa delights to honor — the present incumbent, Hon. Wm. B. Allison."[325] Similar quotations might be made almost indefinitely, but the situation is admirably summarized in an editorial in the *State Register* late in the season:

> In the pretty general discussion which has been going on in the State press for some time in regard to the successor of Mr. Allison in the United States Senate, *The State Register* has borne no part. We preferred to wait and see the sentiment of the State and the wish of the party, and let that determine our position in regard to the matter. We have no wish specially to plead Mr. Allison's case — if it

should be developed that he was not the cordial choice of the State as his own successor. We had supported him at his first election, and supported him earnestly. His career in the Senate was in no sense disappointing, but in every respect satisfactory to us — fully justifying and faithfully fulfilling the expectations we had been led to have of him as a Senator. The discussion of the succession has been very general and protracted. Nearly every paper in the State has spoken its mind concerning the question, and almost every Republican paper has spoken in favor of the Senator's being his own successor. The expression on the part of the people has been cordially to the same end. With this conclusion of the press and the people, we find no hesitation in agreeing, and accept of it with enthusiasm and gratification.[326]

Various reasons were assigned for the desirability of reëlecting Senator Allison. On the part of those who might have preferred a different man the apparent unanimity of the people of the State in favor of Allison was accepted as a conclusive argument in his behalf. Furthermore, it was quite generally stated that during his six years of service Senator Allison had faithfully represented the wishes of his constituents, and that he occupied a position of influence in the Senate of which all Iowans should be proud. "At Washington Mr. Allison is accorded the position of the leading Republican Senator of the West", declared a Des Moines editor. And he called the roll of Senators from the western States to prove the truth of his assertion.[327]

Not only was Allison praised because he had been faithful to the interests of the people of Iowa, but

also because he had remained true to the fundamental principles of Republicanism at a time when there had been much back-sliding. "In the dark and doubtful days of the past summer, when there was an effort being made to make Republicanism over into Democracy", wrote a friendly editor, "he was the first member of the Senate to take the stump, and break the great and cautious stillness that all the politicians were trying to keep. And he broke it to say that he was for the Republicanism of the old kind, that he was in favor of standing by the friends of the party and not its enemies, and that he would vote in the Senate for the Republican claimants from the deserted States. . . . The ground he marked out for himself then, as a Republican and a Senator, all the Republicans of the Senate have since advanced to, and now occupy."[328] Finally, the unanimous reëlection of Senator Allison was urged as a means of preventing a recurrence of factional strife within the party, and of clearing the politics of the State for the next senatorial succession.[329]

While the sentiment of the State, as has been indicated, was predominantly in favor of the return of William B. Allison, there were a few hints of opposition which may have caused his friends some slight apprehension. The possibility that James Harlan would again enter the race for the senatorship seemingly caused some uneasiness, for early in December the editor of the *Burlington Hawk-Eye* protested against certain editors who "imagine that they are neglecting their duty if they do not indulge

in an annual tirade of abuse of ex-Senator Harlan." Signs of the annual outbreak were evident, and the editor warned his contemporaries that the best way to arouse a formidable feeling in favor of James Harlan was to make an unprovoked attack upon him.[330]

It soon appeared, however, that there was some ground for the suspicion of a possible Harlan candidacy. About the middle of December it was learned that William Allen, Representative from Henry County, had issued a circular letter to the members of the General Assembly in the effort to organize an opposition to Senator Allison and a movement in favor of James Harlan.[331] While the letter was a decided failure as far as accomplishing its purpose was concerned it drew from Harlan a vigorous denial of his candidacy or of any connection with the letter[332] and furnished fuel for numerous newspaper comments.

It was intimated that the Allen letter might have been issued for the purpose of ascertaining the position of the legislators, and that it was really in the interest of Senator Allison. The *Sioux City Journal*, however, ridiculed this idea. "The Republican sentiment of the State has been so clearly expressed in favor of the retention of Mr. Allison", stated the editor, "that upon the part of Mr. Allison's friends no solicitude in his behalf could have suggested this attempt at pumping."[333] Another editor believed that if the legislators "were disposed to branch out after a new candidate they would not be likely to make" Representative Allen their "father confessor".[334]

The real source and animus of the Allen letter also caused much speculation. A newspaper correspondent in the northern part of the State wrote that "a rumor is current that a revelation will be made that will connect three prominent Dubuque men with the copying of the letter." The correspondent further referred to a current intimation that an "ex-government official" had offered the letter to an eastern newspaper for one hundred dollars as "pure cussedness", and predicted that there would be a surprise when the truth was known.[335] "Let the truth come out if the fur must fly", commented a Cedar Falls editor. "The blame now rests on Henry Clay ——n."[336]

The Allen letter was the only approach to an organized effort to place a candidate in the field against Allison during this contest. Practically the only hint of objection to him on account of his policies was the rumor that he would be opposed because of his advocacy of the remonetization of silver. But the storm of protest which this rumor aroused proved conclusively that Senator Allison's views on the silver coinage question were thoroughly in accord with the wishes of the people of Iowa.[337]

The unanimity which characterized the approval of Senator Allison by the newspapers and people of the State manifested itself in the caucus of the Republican members of the legislature, held on the evening of January 14, 1878. The caucus did not last half an hour and resulted in the nomination of William B. Allison by acclamation, without a ballot

being taken and without a dissenting vote. Short speeches were made by William Larrabee, William M. Stone, Alfred Hebard, and William Allen, the author of the famous circular. It was the latter who moved that the nomination be made by acclamation, and his remarks elicited enthusiastic applause.[338]

On January 23rd the two houses of the General Assembly met in joint convention. A comparison of the journals revealed the fact that of the one hundred and forty-two votes cast for United States Senator William B. Allison had received one hundred and four.[339] Of the remaining thirty-eight votes Daniel F. Miller received thirty-five, and E. N. Gates three.[340]

"Nobody came forward to contest the senatorial nomination with Mr. Allison", was the post-election comment of a Burlington editor, "and even the democrats seem[ed] inclined to vote for him as nearly as possible by nominating a relic of a former age as a candidate so that in the future when the history of the state comes to be written, it may be said with truth that Mr. Allison had no opposition."[341]

XIII

THE ELECTION OF WILSON AND McDILL IN 1882

The senatorial contest of 1882 opened with considerable earnestness fully a year before the election occurred. As early as January 21, 1881, a lengthy discussion of the political situation in Iowa with special reference to the senatorship appeared in a Des Moines newspaper. A correspondent had inquired whether there was any truth in the statement that James Harlan was "a candidate for Governor, or for the Kirkwood succession in the Senate", and whether John H. Gear was a candidate for a third term as Governor or was in reality seeking a seat in the United States Senate. To the first inquiry the editor replied that it was generally believed that Harlan was not a candidate for either position, but that he would accept either if elected. As to Gear the editor disclaimed any authority to speak definitely, but expressed the opinion that "he is not a candidate for a third term as Governor, and that he is candidate for Senator".

The possibility that Iowa would be given a place in President Garfield's Cabinet also received some attention, and, according to the editor, indications at that time seemed to point to the calling of James

F. Wilson to the Cabinet, either as Secretary of the Interior or of the Treasury. It was thought that if Wilson did not go into the Cabinet he would be a candidate for Senator. There was also a possibility that John A. Kasson would be a candidate. In conclusion the editor stated that "Gov. Kirkwood is a candidate, and the indications now are all in favor of his election, although Gov. Gear has much strength and many active friends."[342]

That Samuel J. Kirkwood at this time fully expected to be a candidate for a second term in the Senate is very evident from his correspondence. On February 20th Jacob Rich, who had long been one of Kirkwood's most ardent supporters, wrote from Des Moines stating that he had held conferences with a number of prominent politicians in the capital city. "All see that Gear is working like a Trojan", said Rich, "but none have fears of a contest between him and you. There is a feeling, however, of anxiety as to what may come of the cabinet complication, if it takes Allison out of the Senate". The possibility that Kirkwood himself might be given a seat in the Cabinet was also hinted at by Rich. And finally he admonished Kirkwood that if the fight for the Senate was to go on he should "have some man in every congressional district actively at work, with a head either here or at Iowa City to whom reports must be made of the situation in every legislative district. There should be some money for traveling expenses of these Dist. Agents and for postage."[343]

At about this same time J. N. Dewey, another of

Kirkwood's trusted lieutenants, wrote a long letter discussing the prospects in the senatorial contest. He thought that there was no foundation in the rumors to the effect that an alliance had been made between Buren R. Sherman and John H. Gear, whereby the former was to run for Governor and the latter for Senator. There might be some truth in a similar rumor with respect to Gear and William Larrabee. But in the opinion of the writer the man most to be feared was neither Gear, Sherman, or Larrabee, but James Harlan, "with the Methodist church behind him." "The 'brethren'— by delegates or otherwise I don't know which", Dewey wrote, "assembled here some weeks since, brother Harlan among them, to consult as to the best interests of this part of the Vineyard, when it was determined to hold a State Convention here in May next — At that time delegations from every parish will be on hand and the Harlan ball that is to bowl him into the Gubernatorial & thence into the Senatorial chair will get a first 'class' send off".[344]

As the days passed the possibility of Kirkwood's appointment to a position in the President's Cabinet developed into a probability, but Jacob Rich was still at Des Moines keeping in touch with the preliminary maneuvers for the senatorship. "Gear is everywhere, and with his hands into everything", he wrote on March 3rd. "Whether it counts most, for or against him, is not certain. But as soon as this cabinet business is solved, and it is certain that

you are not going into it, we must have a meeting of your friends here, and go to work.''[345]

Certainty came, however, on March 5th when the news was telegraphed to Iowa that President Garfield had appointed Kirkwood as Secretary of the Interior. The entire aspect of the senatorial contest was immediately changed, for as long as Kirkwood remained in the race there was small chance for anyone else to win. ''The telegraph says you have the Interior Portfolio'', wrote a friend, ''allow me to congratulate you. It is right & proper but I don't know what kind of a fight you have left us in Iowa over your vacant shoes''.[346]

Upon the resignation of Samuel J. Kirkwood from the Senate, Governor Gear appointed James W. McDill to fill the vacancy until the ensuing session of the General Assembly,[347] at which time it would be necessary not only to choose someone to fill out the remainder of Kirkwood's unexpired term but also to elect a Senator for the full term beginning on March 5, 1883. With two prizes to tempt contestants the campaign now opened with real earnestness.

James F. Wilson of Fairfield, who hitherto had received casual mention in connection with the senatorship, immediately came into prominence as a full-fledged and acknowledged candidate. ''So things have turned out! and now I have got a job on my hands'', he wrote to Kirkwood on March 7th. ''I have written to a number of persons today advising them that I shall be a candidate for Senator. . . .

It is important now to fix your friends as soon as possible, and I wish you would give this matter a little attention."[348]

The newspapers now took up the question and it was not long until it was evident that the contest would lie between three or four men. James F. Wilson perhaps received the most favorable comment throughout the State in general, but there were several other men who had strong local support. Next to Wilson stood Governor Gear, and a Des Moines editor intimated that Wilson should look well to his forces or he would be out-generaled by the Governor. John A. Kasson had many admirers in central Iowa, while James W. McDill was strong in the southwestern part of the State. Hiram Price, said the editor, was a possibility, and there was no doubt that James Harlan was "seeking entrance to this upper field by the strong gate of the Governorship". Moreover, other men were "feeling about their shoulders, to see if nature did not intend them to hold a toga."[349]

So general and earnest did the discussion of candidates become that by the first of June the senatorial question threatened to overshadow all other political issues and to determine the nomination of members of the General Assembly. Several newspapers deprecated this state of affairs. "This question, whether a United States Senatorial succession should be precipitated into a contest in the party before its proper time, imperilling many other and equally important interests of the party and State",

declared an influential editor, "is one which may now well be considered. . . . It is a good deal to say that Legislators should be chosen who will first be sound according to the opinion of any one locality in their preferences for United States Senator."[350]

There were others, however, who disagreed with this view. They admitted that "it can be more easily ascertained which way the Senatorial cat is about to jump, after the election." But in their opinion "the people ought to have a full and free discussion of the candidates placed before them before they elect members of the Legislature whose duty it will be to elect a Senator. If the people in one locality are especially opposed to some well known candidate, they have a perfect right to know something of how their Representative expects to vote."[351]

Whatever the views of the newspaper editors it appears that the politicians of the State in general considered the senatorship the most important local issue of the year; for in a great many county and district Republican conventions resolutions were adopted in favor of the election of some particular man as United States Senator. In many instances nominees for members of the legislature were given definite instructions as to how they should vote in the senatorial election. "The most of the Republican County Conventions in this District have passed resolutions in favor of Kasson for United States Senator", was the announcement made in a

Des Moines newspaper.[352] In the convention in Greene County a resolution to instruct for James F. Wilson was unexpectedly introduced and was adopted by a narrow margin of two or three votes, although it was the opinion of a local editor that another convention equally representative of the people of the county, might favor instructing for any one of a number of candidates.[353]

From Dubuque came the statement that the nomination of J. E. Anderson as State Representative from the seventy-seventh district was "a Wilson victory over Gear for U. S. Senator."[354] A district convention at Earlham in the southwestern part of the State nominated C. B. Hunt for State Senator and by acclamation instructed him to vote for John A. Kasson for United States Senator.[355] The Muscatine County convention instructed for Wilson, casting eighty-one votes in his favor as opposed to thirty-one for Gear and smaller votes for Kasson and McDill.[356] The Scott County delegation in the legislature was renominated with the exception of Bruce Seaman, who was a Wilson man, while the convention was solid for Gear.[357]

Thus all over the State the senatorial question played a decisive part in determining nominations in local conventions. By the middle of September it was estimated that fifty-four counties, having fifty members in the legislature, had instructed for James F. Wilson, the other candidates receiving only scattered support.[358]

A few weeks later, however, consternation was

spread through the camps of the rival candidates. The death of President Garfield as the result of the assassin's bullet elevated Chester A. Arthur to the presidency, and soon there came rumors that there would be certain changes in the Cabinet. Among the portfolios in connection with which a change seemed imminent was that of the Secretary of the Interior. Naturally the possibility that Samuel J. Kirkwood would again be in a position to accept the senatorship caused much anxiety among those to whom his acceptance of the cabinet office had given hope for their own chances in the senatorial race.

Kirkwood's admirers were willing that he should remain in the Cabinet, but at the same time it was evident that they would welcome an opportunity to return him to the Senate. "There is a strong probability that Secretary Kirkwood will retire from the Cabinet", said an Iowa City editor, "and, in that event, his many friends throughout the State will insist that he be returned to the U. S. Senate from which he was called by President Garfield. He was not a candidate for Cabinet honors, but yielded to the entreaties of the late Chief Magistrate to become one of his advisers. It is proper, therefore, that he should be placed in his former position."[359] A correspondent to a Chicago paper thought it would not be surprising if Kirkwood should be nominated for Senator "as he once was for Governor, 'in the name of the people of Iowa' without his knowledge or consent. It would be very like Iowa Republicans to do that. Circumstances have altered the case very

materially since many of the legislative nominations were made, and instructions given candidates will be considered in the light of existing facts."[360]

The editor of the *Iowa State Register* at Des Moines was especially ardent in his advocacy of returning Kirkwood to the Senate in case he should leave the Cabinet. "Some Iowa newspapers", he declared, "are taking a great deal of pains to state just who shall and who shall not be candidates for the United States Senatorships. . . . Just now they are pointing out that it was understood that Secretary Kirkwood intended to close his public life with his term in the Interior Department, and that he could not therefore become a candidate for the Senatorship even if he should leave the Cabinet now." The editor admitted that this statement might represent Kirkwood's intention in the matter, but there were many thousand Republicans in Iowa who might think differently. "Once upon a time", he continued, "they wanted Samuel J. Kirkwood to be a candidate for Governor much against his will,—and the majority ruled. It may be so again."[361]

For fully two months the same newspaper continued to urge the election of Kirkwood. "He is not only the strongest man we have for the Senate as a State," he wrote early in November, "but he also represents that type of Republicanism which is in overwhelming majority in Iowa. . . . Let the so-called stalwart or Grant-Conkling-Arthur administration make up its Cabinet as it will, and wholly of its own kind, as it undoubtedly has the right to do."[362]

"No well posted Iowa man can doubt the unequalled popularity of Gov. Kirkwood in Iowa and with his party," said the editor three weeks later. "His whole history, and the history of the State, for twenty years, are proofs of it. Every year and every campaign affirm it. The writer of this was for two years Chairman of the Republican State Committee, and in those two years there were ten requests and appeals for speeches from Kirkwood where there was one for any other man in the State, and the Chairmen in other years tell us that the same thing was true with them. His name in Iowa to-day warms the public heart as no other name touches it, the mere announcement of his name for a public speech will draw a greater crowd than any other Iowa man will draw, and his appearance in public or in a party convention is always a signal for such applause as the Republicans of Iowa give to no other man."[363]

Judging from newspaper comments and from the letters which Kirkwood received from Iowa the movement in his favor was rapidly gaining large proportions. But the hopes of his friends, as well as the fears of the various senatorial aspirants, soon proved to be groundless. Kirkwood firmly refused to permit his name to be used again in the senatorial contest. On October 3, 1881, he wrote as follows to his confidential friend, Jacob Rich:

I have your letters of the 21st & 28th. It seems to me you should not have written the latter — knowing me as I hope you do and knowing the relations of Wilson & myself I think you could have taken it for granted that I would

not permit my name to be used to his prejudice in any way in the fight he has so gallantly made for the Senate — But as you seem to have some doubt on the subject I now say to you that I am earnestly for the election of Wilson to the Senate, that I think he ought to be elected and that I will not permit my name to be used in any way to his prejudice. You may do what you please with this letter except publish it — I have a horror of seeing my name in print in such connection, but show it to any one & to all with whom in your judgment it may have any weight.[364]

A further indication of the friendly understanding which existed between Wilson and Kirkwood is to be found in a letter which the latter wrote to a Sioux City friend at about this same time. Furthermore, this letter furnishes a glimpse of Kirkwood's attitude toward public office. He wrote, in part:

When I expected a year ago to be a candidate for reelection to the Senate Wilson very generously refused to contest the matter with me.

When my name was used for my present position, although he had been named & was strongly supported for the same place [he] again declined to make a contest—Under these circumstances I cannot allow my name to be used against him and I feel sure you will agree with me in this.

If it were not on McDill's account I would like if I leave the Cabinet to serve out the term to which I was elected six years ago — I am not under any special obligations to McDill but I do not like the idea of a fight with him — Indeed the good people of Iowa have done so much for me that I do not feel like making a fight with any one for their favor.[365]

Thus the candidates in the contest remained as

they had been before rumors of changes in the Cabinet began to cause speculation. By this time it was very apparent that James F. Wilson stood the best chance of winning the long term, while James W. McDill had little opposition for the short term. Moreover, it is probable that Kirkwood's attitude counted strongly in favor of Wilson.

But the latter was not without enemies nor did he escape without some more or less bitter criticism from the press. One editor referred to Wilson's "self-devotion and that of his friends to build him up as the Crown-Prince of Iowa's political realm", and spoke of "their testy peevishness at any syllable that does not sound unconditional surrender to his imperial adulation above other men".[366] Another paper reviewed Wilson's service in securing legislation for railroads, but declared that he was not "as some would have us believe, the great source from which Iowa Republicanism sprung. . . . However potential he may have been with the railroads, in the politics of the State he doesn't stride as a Colossus of Rhodes among pigmies."[367]

Thus the discussion was carried on until the time for the meeting of the legislature. Political issues were almost ignored, and the question was based largely on the relative merits of the respective candidates. In spite of Samuel J. Kirkwood's emphatic refusal to reënter the race his name was strongly urged as late as the first of January by the *Iowa State Register*. "No man can serve Iowa as Kirkwood can serve it", said the editor. "No Iowa man

has the confidence of the Nation as he has it, and Iowa itself has more confidence in him than in any other of its men."[368]

The Nineteenth General Assembly convened on January 9, 1882, and on the following evening the Republican members held their senatorial caucus. Contrary to general expectations the most cordial harmony prevailed. Scarcely had the Chairman, William Larrabee, announced that the caucus was in session when Governor John H. Gear arose and in a brief speech withdrew his name from the contest. James F. Wilson was then nominated by Eldin H. Hartshorn, whereupon H. Y. Smith of Polk announced the withdrawal of John A. Kasson and seconded the nomination of Wilson. The nomination was further seconded by John C. Shrader of Johnson County "in behalf of the friends of the Old War Governor Samuel J. Kirkwood." McDill was nominated by acclamation for the short term. Wilson came into the room later and made a brief and appropriate speech in appreciation of the honor which had been conferred upon him.[369]

On January 25, 1882, the two houses of the General Assembly met in joint convention, and upon a comparison of the journals it was found that the choice of the Republican caucus had been confirmed by large majorities. L. G. Kinne and D. P. Stubbs each received a light vote for the full term; while M. M. Ham and Daniel Campbell received a like support from the opposition forces for the short term. Certificates of election were therefore issued to James F. Wilson and James W. McDill.[370]

XIV

THE ELECTION OF WILLIAM B. ALLISON IN 1884

The political campaign in Iowa in 1883 was a stormy one, because of the intense agitation of the subject of prohibition. In 1882 the people of the State had, by a majority of nearly thirty thousand, voted to amend the State Constitution in such a manner as to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. A few months later, however, the Supreme Court declared the amendment invalid because of a technical error in its adoption. The advocates of prohibition were naturally very much disappointed, and in 1883 they turned to the Republicans in the hope of inducing that party to take a positive stand in the matter. Their hope was not in vain. In 1879 the Republicans in their platform had pledged themselves to secure the submission of a prohibitory amendment; and so a plank was placed in the platform of 1883 declaring that since the sentiment of the people of Iowa, as expressed in the vote on the amendment, was strongly in favor of prohibition, the party pledged itself to secure the adoption of a rigid prohibitory law at the next session of the General Assembly. The Democrats, on the other hand, declared strongly in favor of a license law as op-

posed to prohibition, and thus the issue was squarely drawn.[371]

It is little wonder, therefore, when the leading newspapers of the State, both Republican and Democratic, were literally flooded throughout the year with articles and editorials on the prohibition question, that the senatorial succession should receive but scant attention until shortly before the fall elections. It was also natural that the two issues should react upon each other in the campaign. Indeed, there was some truth in the statement of a Democratic editor that "with prohibition on one side and an U. S. Senator on the other, if the republicans aren't between the devil and the deep sea, then no one ever was in that fix."[372]

It would not be correct, however, to speak of the senatorial election of 1884 as a contest. Within the ranks of the Republican party there was no hint of opposition to the reëlection of Senator Allison, and from first to last no candidate appeared against him. The Democrats, on the other hand, took an unusually active interest in the situation, and from them and the Greenbackers came the only efforts to weaken Allison in the estimation of the people of the State. The Democrats hoped that the endorsement of prohibition would cause such a large defection from the ranks of the Republicans that a Democratic majority might be secured in the legislature, and thus a Democratic United States Senator might be elected. Consequently certain Democratic leaders were not averse to seizing every opportunity to attack Al-

lison's record and reputation. In fact, were it not for the persistent storm of bitter criticism raised by a number of Democratic speakers and editors, and especially by the leader of the Greenbackers, the story of the election of William B. Allison in 1884 could be told in a very few words.

It was about the middle of August, 1883, just at the time of Senator Allison's bereavement by the tragic death of his wife, that he was first assailed with charges of corruption in connection with grants to Iowa railroads twenty years before. And thus the question of his reëlection became a prominent issue. Republican editors were severe in their denunciation of those who made calumnious charges against Allison when his lips were sealed by sorrow, and many Democrats likewise deprecated the actions of their brother partisans.

"General Weaver, who has heretofore appeared to the people of Iowa as being a man of kind heart and humane feelings, despite of all his insincere political courses", declared a Des Moines editor, "in his speech in Des Moines last Monday night — while Senator Allison was barely yet returned to his desolate home from the grave of his wife — made a savage personal assault upon him and his personal as well as his political honor. To do this he went back to a stale and stupid falsehood which died of its own malice twenty years ago,— and which, during the past campaigns occurring since that time, has never been used by Democratic papers and speakers, — and revamped it to his audience, against a man

who never wronged him by so much as a harsh word, fairly with the glee that is shown alone by those who can exult over a man's helplessness in sorrow or his silence in death."[373]

In addition to James B. Weaver, who was candidate for Governor on the Greenback ticket, it was asserted that L. G. Kinne, the Democratic candidate for the same office, was making similar charges against Allison in his speeches throughout the State.[374]

The particular corruption with which Allison was charged during this campaign was in connection with railroads in northwestern Iowa. It was asserted, for instance, that he had voted for the subsidy of bonds and lands for the construction of the Sioux City & Pacific Railroad, a branch of the Union Pacific in which he was especially interested, and that later he had voted to double the subsidy. Moreover, it was charged that he had been influential in changing the route of the Cedar Rapids & Missouri River Railroad, which company was now attempting to defraud settlers in Monona County out of their lands. Finally, the statement was made that Allison had made millions of dollars out of the Sioux City & Pacific Railroad.[375]

The Greenback candidate for Governor even went so far in one of his speeches as to urge it "as a moral and religious duty that every republican, democrat, prohibitionist and greenbacker owed to God, his country, his neighbor and himself to see to it that he so voted for senators and representatives that not

a single legislator should be found to stand up and vote to return Allison the monopolist, the corruptionist and subsidy grabber to the United States senate."[376]

The leading Republican newspapers of the State contained column after column of editorials and extracts from the *Congressional Globe* defending Allison against the attacks made upon him. It was pointed out that at the time the original subsidy of bonds and lands was voted to the Sioux City branch of the Union Pacific, Allison had not even been elected to his first term in Congress and therefore could not be held in any way responsible.[377] The charge relative to the alleged frauds against the settlers in Monona County was met with the statement that the Cedar Rapids & Missouri River Railroad had received its grant of lands from the State of Iowa and not from Congress, and that it was a road in which Allison had absolutely no interest, financial or otherwise. Furthermore, a sworn statement from the attorney of the Monona County settlers was published showing that Senator Allison was in no way responsible for their difficulties.[378]

The fact that Allison had voted to increase the subsidy of the Union Pacific in 1864 was admitted, but it was shown that such legislation was a necessity in order to secure the construction of much needed railroads and that the act met with universal approval at the time of its adoption.[379] Finally, the claim that Allison had made millions of dollars out of the Sioux City & Pacific Railroad was branded as

a gross falsehood, since that road had not paid a single dividend to any of its stock-holders, and Allison was by no means a wealthy man.[380]

As the time for the fall elections drew near the opposing parties in the campaign charged each other with insincerity with respect to the prohibition question. "To secure a democratic United States senator from Iowa", said a Republican editor, "is the primary object of the present political contest in Iowa, in the esteem of the leaders and managing men of the democracy. . . . Affecting great zeal in behalf of the anti-prohibition crusade, the Iowa democracy were for a time very successful in deceiving a large class of voters as to the central object of the democratic canvass." The battle-cry of the Democrats and Greenbackers was declared to be "Anything to beat Allison."[381]

Another Republican editor charged James B. Weaver with inconsistency in his attitude toward prohibition. "Professing to antagonize Gov. Sherman because he is not [a] good enough prohibitionist", declared the editor, "Weaver nevertheless urges upon the prohibition Greenbackers in every place he visits the entire subordination of their regard for prohibition to the end of defeating a Republican U. S. Senator. Prohibition must be held supreme as far as the Governorship is concerned, because Greenback prohibitionists must be kept from Sherman by voting for Weaver. But as to the Legislature, there must be no consideration of prohibition. Vote for license Democrats or whiskey-

Democrats or saloon-Democrats — any kind of a Democrat — says Weaver, so you get a vote against a Republican U. S. Senator.''[382]

Eloquent appeals were made to Republican voters to vote a straight ticket in order that the legislation might not be turned over to the control of the Democrats. And in fact there appears to have been some need for this warning, for a Davenport editor stated that a large number of people ''before disposed to join in the mad desire to 'punish the republicans' because of the prohibition question, have come to a halt in their determination'' upon realizing the bearing which their vote would have upon the senatorial election.[383]

The Democrats and Greenbackers, on the other hand, branded many of the Republican leaders with hypocrisy in pretending to advocate prohibition as the main issue in the campaign, while as a matter of fact they were working every wire to save Allison.[384]

The fall elections passed and the State still remained under Republican control, although with decreased majorities. It was believed in some quarters that the senatorial question and the popularity of Senator Allison were largely responsible for preventing a Democratic victory. ''Hundreds bolted the platform,'' declared J. K. Graves of Dubuque, who had received Democratic mention as a possible anti-Allison candidate, ''but there were thousands who, reaching the very verge, were induced to pause and vote the republican ticket through Senator Allison's efforts and the efforts of his immediate

friends. . . . We only pulled Governor Sherman through by 2,500; the senatorial issue saved him from inevitable defeat.''[385]

While the election of William B. Allison was now generally looked upon as a foregone conclusion, a number of Democratic papers still persisted in their assaults upon him. It was even claimed that the Democrats were offering their votes in the legislature to any Republican who would appear as a candidate against Allison.[386] And one Democratic editor, more inclined to prophecy than his fellows, declared that the ''last republican governor has been elected in Iowa, the last republican legislature will soon be in session, and it will elect the last republican U. S. Senator to aid the monopolist in throttling the people.''[387]

There was no break during this time, however, in Republican approval of Allison, and when the Republican members of the legislature met in caucus on the evening of January 15, 1884, the greatest harmony prevailed. The roll-call indicated that a full caucus was present, and nominations for Senator were declared in order. Senator T. E. Clark then arose and in an ''eloquent and stirring speech, which produced a profound impression, presented the name of Hon. William B. Allison.'' The nomination was seconded by several other members in brief speeches, and when it appeared that there were no further names to be voted upon, a rising vote was called for and ''every member rose to his feet amid the enthusiastic applause of the assembly''.[388]

A deputation was then sent to apprise Senator Allison, who was in Des Moines, of his nomination and to invite him to the caucus. When the applause which greeted the Senator's entrance into the hall had subsided, in a few modest and well chosen words, he expressed his appreciation of the honor which had been conferred upon him. He then "repaired to his room at the Kirkwood, where he was called upon by crowds of people up to 11 o'clock, when he took the Rock Island train and left direct for his duties at Washington".[389]

"It was the extraordinary scene of an extraordinary event", declared the editor of the *Iowa State Register* in discussing the nomination of Allison. "For never before", he continued, "has any great State given such high preferment as the State of Iowa has now given to Senator Allison."[390]

The reëlection of William B. Allison was now assured, but certain Democratic members of the legislature were apparently determined to assail his official record up to the very last moment. In the House of Representatives on the morning of January 22nd, the day on which each house cast its vote for United States Senator, Representative Joel Stewart introduced a series of resolutions calling for an investigation of the charges against Senator Allison. In introducing these resolutions, however, Stewart met with the disapproval of a number of his own party as well as of the Republicans, and the resolutions were indefinitely laid on the table by a decisive vote.[391]

On January 23rd the two houses met in joint convention to compare their journals on the vote for United States Senator. The result revealed a total of ninety votes for William B. Allison, as opposed to forty-eight for Benton J. Hall, ten for D. M. Clark, and one for L. G. Kinne.[392] There was some doubt, however, as to whether the law of Congress regulating senatorial elections had been technically fulfilled with respect to the date of holding the election, and so the process was repeated one week later, with substantially the same result.[393] And thus the election of William B. Allison to his third term in the United States Senate was made a certainty beyond the chance for dispute.

XV

THE ELECTION OF JAMES F. WILSON IN 1888

A FEW pages will be sufficient to contain the narrative of the second election of James F. Wilson to the United States Senate in 1888. It is true that during the months which preceded the caucus of the Republican members of the legislature there was manifest some opposition to Wilson within the ranks of his own party. But, while Republican sentiment was by no means as unanimous in favor of Wilson as it had been for the return of Allison four years earlier, the opposition was neither united nor active and until nearly the last moment no candidate definitely appeared against him. Moreover, the Democrats apparently took little interest in the senatorial question. Thus the contest, if such it might be called, was uneventful and provoked but little comment in the newspapers.

The question of a successor to Senator Wilson was occasionally mentioned throughout the year 1887, but it was not until late in the summer, when the fall elections were approaching, that the discussion became at all general. From that time until the question was settled by the legislature a tendency to prefer the election of a new man to succeed Sen-

ator Wilson appeared in different sections of the State. "Governor Larrabee is to-day the strongest man, politically, in the State", was the suggestion which came from Muscatine, not far from Wilson's home. "Why not send him to the United States Senate?"[394] This sentiment met with the approval of an editor in the southwestern part of the State, although he lamented the fact that in the election of Larrabee "Iowa would lose the best officer that ever occupied the gubernatorial chair."[395]

John A. Kasson also received favorable comments during the late summer as a possible candidate for the senatorship, but his advocates were as widely scattered as were those of William Larrabee. The editor of the *Keokuk Gate City* thought that Kasson would be the one finally selected to make the race against Wilson, since he was the only man in the State strong enough to make any headway in such a contest.[396] At Marshalltown, in central Iowa, Kasson also found favor.[397]

The county and district nominating conventions also furnished some evidence of unsettled public opinion on the senatorial question. It was asserted that a number of counties which were supposed to be Wilson strongholds had gone against him. Special attention was called to the fact that both of the legislative nominees in Marshall County were opposed to Wilson, although six years before that county had furnished him his leading support.[398] On the other hand, Wilson received hearty endorsement in a number of counties.

A movement in favor of a Union soldier for Senator received considerable support during the summer and fall. "The plain people of Iowa have a great many sensible notions", was the comment which appeared in a Des Moines newspaper. "One of these notions is that the Republican party should not put all of its enthusiasm for the Union soldier in its platform and forget him in its ticket."[399] Another editor pointed out the fact that there was a score of ex-Confederate soldiers in Congress and declared that it was "but right that Iowa send a man to the Senate who fought on the other side."[400] But the Union soldier idea apparently wasted itself in talk, for no candidate was selected to put the idea to a practical test, unless the support given to William P. Hepburn at the eleventh hour was suggested by his service in the War of the Rebellion.

The friends of James F. Wilson endeavored to make light of the soldier in politics movement, as well as of the locality plea which was advanced in favor of a man from the western part of the State. From Fort Dodge, in the midst of the section which was demanding a western candidate, came the statement that "the soldier plea is not a strong one against such a man as Wilson, who was as strong and useful a patriot in congress during the war as he could have been, or any Iowan was, on the tented field."[401]

Shortly before the meeting of the legislature William P. Hepburn received considerable favorable comment as a candidate against Wilson; and Judge

Reed was occasionally mentioned in the western part of the State. But with these two exceptions the opposition to Wilson was unorganized and indefinite, and even those who preferred someone else for Senator were forced to concede his nomination by a substantial majority of the Republican members of the legislature.

The Republican caucus was held on Tuesday evening, January 10, 1888, the day following the convening of the General Assembly. The calling of the caucus at so early a date was somewhat unusual and was resented by the friends of Hepburn, who had succeeded in working up something of a boom for their favorite. "There had been no talk of Tuesday evening", declared a Des Moines editor, "and invariable precedent whenever there had been a contest, had deferred the time for the caucus until the latter part of the week, and in some instances as late as the Monday night before the day of election. Inquiry also showed that there had been no meeting of the committee, but the call had been carried around to the different members and their signatures had been secured in one or two instances at least through a misunderstanding. This fact alone would seem to make the call irregular if not illegal, and therefore null and void."[402]

In spite of the protest of the Hepburn men the caucus was, nevertheless, held in pursuance of the call, although a motion for postponement was only defeated by a vote of forty-seven to forty-five. Before any nominations could be made Timothy J.

Caldwell withdrew the name of William P. Hepburn in a speech tinged with bitterness, charging the Republican party with being profuse in their praise of old soldiers but of failing to do anything for them when it came to offices. James F. Wilson was then nominated as was also William Larrabee, but Robert G. Reiniger immediately arose and announced that Larrabee positively forbade the use of his name. The nomination of Wilson was thereupon made unanimous.[403]

The friends of Colonel Hepburn were inclined to feel that the result had been achieved through unfair means on the part of the supporters of the successful candidate, although no wrong intentions were attributed to Wilson himself. "It is a compliment no less to the individual than the principle involved", declared an editor who sympathized with this view in speaking of Hepburn's candidacy, "that without any preliminary organization, and in the face of every disadvantage in the conditions of the contest, he showed a positive strength that foreshadowed his nomination had the caucus been held at the usual time."[404]

As was the case four years earlier the two houses of the General Assembly voted for United States Senator on two separate days, January 17th and 24th, and joint conventions were held to compare the journals on January 18th and 25th, in order to make certain that the provisions of the Federal law had been complied with. In each case James F. Wilson received an overwhelming majority of the votes cast,

his nearest competitor being T. J. Anderson, the Democratic nominee. Daniel Campbell, J. R. Reed, John A. T. Hull, and Henry Wallace were other men who received votes varying in number from one to three.[405] A certificate of election was therefore issued to James F. Wilson for his second and last term in the United States Senate.

XVI

THE ELECTION OF WILLIAM B. ALLISON IN 1890

For the third time the question of a successor to Senator William B. Allison became a topic of discussion in Iowa during the year 1889. For over sixteen years he had represented the State in the upper house of Congress in a manner satisfactory to a great majority of his constituents. Thus, in many respects the campaign resembled the one six years before. Such opposition as there was to him was scattered, and no candidate appeared against him within the ranks of his own party. Furthermore, the Democrats again took an interest in the question, and during the weeks immediately preceding the fall elections the prohibition question complicated the situation, though not to such an extent as in the previous campaign.

At the same time the campaign had its peculiar features, for this was the year of the Democratic victory in the election of Horace Boies as Governor. While the Republicans still retained supremacy in the legislature it was on the basis of such a small majority that complete harmony was necessary within the party to elect a United States Senator. It was doubtless this fact that encouraged the feeble

opposition to Allison which appeared in a few quarters.

Just as had been the case two years before, William Larrabee was early mentioned as the proper man for the senatorship. "Larrabee for governor; Hutchinson for Lieutenant-Governor; then Larrabee for United States Senator and Hutchinson for governor, is the latest",[406] declared an editor, who opposed Allison throughout the contest. "We'll venture the peanuts that the above ticket will not be nominated",[407] was the reply of an editor in a neighboring town; and his prophecy proved true.

Another newspaper which opposed the reëlection of Allison and favored William Larrabee for the senatorship was the *Des Moines News*. At first the editor objected to Allison's alleged views on the railroad question, but being forced to drop these objections on account of a speech by the Senator, he charged Allison with timidity in facing the issues of the day. "Senator Allison has evidently been hearing from the people", ran the editor's comment. "His Sigourney speech, of which we print a liberal extract elsewhere, is the most pronounced utterance of his cautious and timid political life. It shows that he realizes the delicacy and danger of his position. But it does not prove that he is the man to represent Iowa in the Senate. Governor Larrabee ought to have his seat; and it is a matter of deep and general regret that he is not a candidate for it."[408] It was especially asserted that Allison desired to avoid expressing a definite opinion on the

prohibition question, but he was ably defended by his friends.[409]

The charges of corruption in connection with the building of railroads in northwestern Iowa, which had been made against Allison six years before, were again brought forward and as indignantly denied and refuted by his friends.[410] At the same time the masses of the Republican party indicated their confidence in the senior Senator by resolutions of endorsement in county conventions.

The result of the fall elections gave the Democrats the hope that they might attract the votes of a sufficient number of Republican legislators to elect a Senator of their own choice. "The Democratic scheme to buy four Republican votes in the Iowa Legislature to defeat Allison, and elect John C. Bills, a free-trader, to the United States Senate, has created a sensation",[411] declared an eastern Iowa editor. But in reply there came the assurance that a bill for the taxation of church property introduced in the Iowa Senate had "sounded the political deathknell of John C. Bills."[412] There was also a suggestion that the Democrats would nominate a Republican in order to defeat Allison,[413] but in general it may be said that the Democrats favored the reelection of Allison in case they could not choose a man from their own ranks.

While the comparative equality of the two parties in the approaching General Assembly infused hope into the Democratic camp and into the minds of a few dissatisfied Republicans, it likewise caused con-

siderable apprehension among the supporters of Allison who were best able to estimate the possibilities in the contest. "Scores of the Republican papers that assume to make light of the tremendous effort that is being made to defeat Senator Allison would change their tune if they were a little nearer the seat of war", came the warning from the capital city.[414] The possibility that a few anti-prohibition Republicans might go over to the Democrats added an element of uncertainty to the situation. Furthermore, a temporary local movement in favor of Judge James H. Rothrock of Cedar Rapids caused some disturbance until the Judge made a public declaration that he would not be a candidate.[415]

It became apparent late in December that there would be a sharp contest over the speakership of the House of Representatives of the Iowa legislature, and it was naturally expected that the senatorial question would be affected thereby. The Democrats threatened that if the Republicans did not concede the speakership to them they would filibuster and prevent the election of Allison. The Republicans, on the other hand, declared that if a speaker was not chosen and the legislature organized the Democrats could not inaugurate their Governor, and therefore a failure to elect a United States Senator would only result in leaving Allison in his seat.[416]

Republican editors were now very earnest in calling upon the Republican members of the legislature to be true to their party. An interview with Samuel J. Kirkwood was reprinted from an eastern

newspaper, asserting that Allison's candidacy was all that had saved the legislature from going Democratic at the fall elections. This being the case it would be base ingratitude for Republican legislators to vote against Allison.[417] "We believe that every Republican county convention held in the state passed a resolution favorable to the re-election of Senator Allison", admonished a northern Iowa writer, "and every Republican elected to the legislature is under the most solemn obligation of party fealty and political honor to vote for the distinguished senator."[418]

Thus the question stood when the members of the General Assembly began to arrive at Des Moines for the session which was to convene on January 13, 1890. A Democratic paper in the capital city frequently contained assertions that corporation men were coming to Des Moines to aid in the Allison campaign. For instance, Grenville M. Dodge happened to be in the city to attend some meetings of railroad directors, and it was declared that he had come to bring railroad influence to bear in favor of Allison. But the Senator's friends pointed out that if Dodge had come all the way from New York City to aid Allison he would have chosen a time when there was more material to work upon, since at the time of his visit there were only three members of the legislature in Des Moines.[419]

The scattered opposition to Senator Allison failed to attain its object, for on the evening of January 16th he was unanimously renominated by

an enthusiastic Republican caucus attended by every Republican member of the legislature except four who voted by proxy. There were no other nominations and the caucus was entirely harmonious.[420]

Although the question was now practically settled it was not until nearly two months later that the legislature gave official confirmation to the choice of Senator Allison, for it was not until February 19th that John T. Hamilton was elected Speaker of the House on the one hundred and thirty-seventh ballot.[421] The second Tuesday after the organization of the General Assembly, therefore, was March 4, 1890. On that day the two houses voted separately for United States Senator, and on the following day the journals were compared in joint convention. Of the votes cast William B. Allison received seventy-nine as opposed to sixty-three for S. T. Bestow, the Democratic nominee, and eight for William Larrabee.[422] Another term of six years in the United States Senate was thus allotted to Senator Allison.

XVII

THE ELECTION OF JOHN H. GEAR IN 1894

The story of the long contest which preceded the senatorial election of 1894 reads like a repetition of the memorable campaigns of twenty and thirty years earlier. Instead of a single Republican candidate with only feeble opposition there were a number of Republican aspirants who remained in the field till the question was settled by the legislative caucus; while the Democrats gave valiant support to one of their number until the fall elections deprived them of all hope of success.

The year 1893 was a year of sharp political contests in Iowa. Republican leaders were determined to stem the tide of Democratic victory as evidenced in two successive terms of Horace Boies as Governor. Casting about for means to this end they accurately hit upon the real cause of Republican defeat in the past two campaigns — namely, the continued endorsement of prohibition as the best means of solving the liquor problem. And so it was decided to abandon an issue which had operated so disastrously to the party, and in the State platform it was declared that "prohibition is no test of Republicanism", and the liquor question was relegated to the care of the General Assembly.[423] As a result,

after a lively campaign, the Republicans elected Frank D. Jackson as Governor by an overwhelming majority, and were equally successful with respect to the other State officers and the legislature.

Scarcely second in popular interest was the discussion of the United States senatorial succession which continued throughout the year. Senator James F. Wilson, now approaching the end of his second term, having early declared that he would not be a candidate for reëlection, the necessity of choosing an entirely new man added novelty and zest to the contest; and many were the politicians who began to dream of themselves sitting in the upper house of Congress.

Indeed, as early as the fall of 1892, a year and a half before the contest closed, a number of men were being favorably mentioned as capable of filling the position soon to be vacated by Senator Wilson. A Democratic editor, reviewing the situation about the middle of January, mentioned James S. Clarkson, John H. Gear, William P. Hepburn, Albert B. Cummins, David B. Henderson, John Y. Stone, and James E. Blythe as Republicans who were looking longingly toward the senatorship. "The prevailing opinion among democrats and not a few republicans", concluded the editor, "is that it makes very little difference who the republican candidate may be, as the people have already decided upon Horace Boies, for that position."[424] There was also about this time a movement in favor of Walter I. Hayes of Clinton, then the only Democratic member of

Congress from Iowa, but he declined the nomination since Horace Boies was clearly the choice of the majority of the Democrats.[425]

Editor Richard P. Clarkson in discussing the prospects early in 1893 added a number of prominent names to the list of possibilities presented by his Democratic contemporary. George D. Perkins, Jonathan P. Dolliver, Edwin H. Conger, John A. T. Hull, James Wilson, and John F. Lacey were men who were considered worthy of the honor, although Editor Clarkson naturally looked with especial favor upon Albert B. Cummins of Des Moines.[426]

After this preliminary discussion of possible candidates the question of the senatorial succession was permitted to rest until early in the summer. There had been considerable talk by both parties, but especially by the Democrats, of nominating Senators at the State conventions. But as the time for the Democratic convention approached this plan was abandoned, apparently at the request of Governor Boies, who was still the party favorite for the senatorship. According to the Republican version, the question was settled by the Democratic State Central Committee which met in Des Moines during the second week in June. "The object was stated to be, in the confidential recesses of the committee room", ran the account, "that the governor may be given a chance to draw out of the fight for the senatorship as soon as he is convinced that the race is hopeless."[427] Thus it was decided not to make a nomination at the State convention, and the incident

served to bring down on the Democrats the jeers of Republican editors.[428]

Although the formal announcement of the candidacy of Albert B. Cummins was apparently not made until the latter part of November, he had an able advocate in Editor Clarkson who presented his name to the people of the State in a long editorial late in August. The editor called attention to the fact that the influence which Iowa exerted in the upper house of Congress must soon pass into the care of younger men. And among the younger Republicans in the State no one was better qualified to fill the position than the Des Moines lawyer. "Mr. Cummins' record as a Republican is clear and unsullied", declared Clarkson, in summing up the arguments in favor of his candidate, "he is a life long Republican, although he has not always been able to agree with other Republicans on the question which the party has repeatedly declared is no test of Republicanism. . . . His campaign tour last month was almost a triumphal march. . . . He is young, courageous, brilliant, able, of regal mind and warm heart; his candidacy is full of magnetism".[429]

At the Democratic State Convention Horace Boies was nominated for a third term as Governor. But in spite of this fact it was declared that he was still a candidate for the senatorship and would be the choice of his party. This statement was made on the authority of the *Dubuque Herald,* the editor of which had formerly been private secretary to Gov-

ernor Boies, and was cited as a warning to Republican voters. "Gov. Boies is not running for governor this year — he is running for the United States senate, while poor old Mr. Bestow is the real candidate for an office of which he can not fill one side", commented a Des Moines editor. "Gov. Boies is only a blind on the ticket. He is only a mask. Pull it away and you see the face of Bestow."[430]

The importance of every vote was now strongly emphasized by Republican leaders. It was asserted that not even during the Civil War was Iowa's vote of such great consequence in National affairs, since never before had Iowa been in a position to change the political complexion of either house of Congress. The State Senators elected that year would have a voice in choosing two United States Senators. "Changing one or both of Iowa's United States Senators", continued the warning, "may keep the National senate Democratic for a quarter of a century, if not permanently, for if the Democrats gain the power to elect the Iowa senator in the next legislature they will have the strength to redistrict every congressional, legislative and judicial district in the state, in such a manner as to give Democracy a majority of the congressmen, a majority in each branch of the legislature and a majority of the district judges of the state." Therefore, Republican voters were urged to be on their guard against the Democratic assertions that National issues had no part in the campaign.[431]

At the fall elections, as has been stated, the Republicans were overwhelmingly successful. Thenceforth the senatorial question became more than ever the chief subject of political interest. The Democrats, now eliminated from the race, assumed the rôle of onlookers in the contest between the various Republican rivals.

November was a month of formal announcements of candidacy by the senatorial aspirants. The names of John H. Gear, Albert B. Cummins, John F. Lacey, William P. Hepburn, George D. Perkins, and John Y. Stone were now placed definitely before the people as avowed candidates. At the same time the question of locality rose into prominence as an issue in the contest. With the exception of George G. Wright and James W. McDill all of the Senators from Iowa had thus far come from the eastern part of the State. Furthermore, Senator Allison's home was at Dubuque and hence it was urged that Wilson's successor should come from central or western Iowa.

The effect of the election of an eastern man upon the candidacy of William B. Allison to succeed himself for a fifth term two years hence was used with great force by those who favored a western candidate, as well as by those who feared for Allison's welfare. "The position gained by Senator Allison through his long experience has made him not only an honor to Iowa, but a necessity to the nation", commented a Dubuque editor. "Until the monetary question is fully settled no man is so badly needed in the councils of our nation as our efficient repre-

sentative in the upper house. If the friends of the senator do not desire his usefulness limited to the remaining two years of the present term they will see that the western part of the state is not neglected this time. This is intended for a pointer."[432]

The locality argument was naturally used most strongly against John H. Gear of Burlington. A loyal Cummins supporter insisted that it was not fair to allow Dubuque and Des Moines counties to have both of the United States Senators. These counties went strongly Democratic at the last election, while the central and western parts of the State returned large Republican majorities. The senatorial candidates in eastern Iowa were not of such overtowering ability that the question of locality could be ignored in the distribution of political honors.[433]

The friends of Gear, on the other hand, maintained that locality should not be the deciding factor in the campaign and that it ought not operate against their candidate. It was asserted that a United States Senator was the representative of the entire State and there had been no instance in which he had attempted to advance the interests of the particular locality in which he resided, to the neglect of the rest of the State. Moreover, while it was admitted that the Senators and many other Federal appointees had come from the eastern third of the State, it was shown that a majority of the State officials had for many years been selected from central and western Iowa.[434]

Major Lacey, declared a Democratic editor who

continued to take a lively interest in the contest, was "the candidate of the opposition to the republican central committee and the so-called ring which managed the last campaign." A meeting of Major Lacey's leading supporters was said to have been held in Des Moines during the last week in November, and at this meeting there were present Lafayette Young of Des Moines, Albert Swalm of Oskaloosa, Ben McCoy of Oskaloosa, Secretary of State McFarland and others.[435]

The friends of Albert B. Cummins were also actively at work under the leadership of a well organized committee consisting of George G. Wright, R. P. Clarkson, C. H. Gatch, Edwin H. Conger, C. G. McCarthy, and others. This committee prepared a circular letter urging the claims of their candidate and sent it over the State, especially to members of the legislature.[436]

Through all the campaign ex-Governor Gear was forced to bear the brunt of opposition from the friends of the other rivals, for he was the only distinctly eastern candidate. For instance, it was claimed that Gear, being nearly seventy years of age, was too old to be of great service to the State in the Senate. To send him there in order that he might "round out" his career, as some of his friends urged, sounded very well, but it would not be profitable for the people of Iowa. The only way in which the State could have another Senator who would compare with Allison would be to send a young man and allow him to become efficient through experience.[437]

Again the antagonism between the interests of Gear and Allison was pointed out. Every vote cast for Gear, it was declared, was a direct stab at Allison. Northeastern Iowa was especially warned against lending its support to the Burlington candidate, since the Gear opposition had indicated its intention of working against Allison when he came up for reëlection in case northeastern Iowa stood for Gear.[438]

Alleged support by corporations was another argument used against Gear by his opponents. "There never was in the history of Iowa politics", charged one editor, "a more relentless machine at work than now. The Q road, some of the state central committee and the postmasters and ex-federal office holders manipulated by Gear himself are seeking to cover the field and garner the benefits." And again in the same paper the writer referred to Gear as "the candidate of a packed caucus, backed by corporate interests as represented by the Q road".[439]

Late in December a new candidate was added to the list in the person of Lorenzo S. Coffin of Fort Dodge, who earlier in the year had refused the Prohibition nomination as Governor. The announcement of his candidacy was looked upon in some quarters as adding another worthy contestant to the race. There were others, however, doubtless taking exception to Coffin's well known views on the liquor question, who greeted his candidacy as a joke, and referred to him as playing "the buffoon's part in the existing play of politics".[440]

The lobbies of the Des Moines hotels were alive with friends of the various senatorial candidates several days before the legislature convened on January 8, 1894. Rumors of dark horses and compromise candidates were rife. From one source came the statement that the "contest will be close, and it would not be strange if Larrabee was named as the best settlement of the wrangle."[441] The name of J. S. Clarkson was again brought forward as one on which followers of the different standards might unite.

Excitement increased apace as the legislators arrived and the General Assembly organized for the work of the session. The date for the caucus was the first question for decision. A conference of the advisers of the rival leaders was held on Tuesday evening, January 9th; and it was determined to hold the caucus for State printer, State binder, and wardens of the penitentiaries on Friday evening, while the senatorial caucus was postponed until the following Monday, January 15th. This decision was considered a victory for the anti-Gear forces, since Gear was claimed to be anxious for an early test of strength. The other candidates were pleased with the outcome as it would furnish an opportunity for trading and log-rolling at the caucus on Friday evening. It was quite evident that Gear was in the lead, but each of the opposing candidates hoped to win the votes of those who opposed Gear after the first ballot in the caucus.[442]

Every effort was made during the short time that

remained to prejudice the members of the legislature against Gear. The locality plea and the effect of Gear's election on Allison's chances were constantly harped upon. Furthermore, the cry was raised that the Gear faction was circulating petitions in central and western Iowa. "These petitions", was the assertion, "recite in large letters that the people, especially those who sign it, are first for the candidate from the particular district in which such county is situated, and then in little letters, so as to be hardly visible, it is recited that Gear is their second choice. The men who are circulating these petitions are paid for their services. These signatures will be used to persuade western and central Iowa members that their constituents want them to vote for an eastern Iowa man."[443]

The hour set for the Republican caucus on Monday evening, January 15th, found the galleries in the hall of the House of Representatives crowded with anxious spectators. The caucus organized with Merritt W. Harmon as chairman, and upon the recommendation of the caucus committee it was determined that no nominating speeches should be made. Thereupon nominations were declared to be in order, and one after another members arose and named John H. Gear, John Y. Stone, John F. Lacey, A. B. Cummins, George D. Perkins, W. P. Hepburn, and L. S. Coffin.

Seven names were thus submitted to the choice of the caucus. Amid breathless silence a ballot was taken and read. John H. Gear had received forty-

two votes; while his nearest competitor, William P. Hepburn, had only nineteen. Lacey, Stone, Cummins, and Perkins ran about even, with votes ranging from ten to thirteen, and L. S. Coffin brought up the rear with four votes. No one had received enough votes to nominate, and so a second ballot was taken. This time Gear forged ahead to fifty, drawing votes from nearly all of the other candidates except Cummins, who gained three, making him fifteen. And yet there was no nomination. The interest of the spectators was intense as the names were called on the third ballot. Gradually the Gear vote mounted above the result on the previous ballot, but it was not until almost the last ballot had been read that his victory was made certain. Then it was found that he had received fifty-seven votes as opposed to the total of fifty-five given to his opponents.[444] All of the candidates were brought before the caucus amid great applause, and each made a brief address.

The Democratic caucus was held on the same evening in the Senate chamber, where Horace Boies was nominated without opposition, no other candidate being named.[445]

The result naturally was a disappointment to those who felt strongly that eastern Iowa was getting more than its share. "Central and western Iowa will yet be represented in their own legislature by men who will be true to their constituents", was the determined comment of Richard P. Clarkson, "and when that day arrives they will gain the rights

and benefits of representation. Keep your eye on all legislators who have thus denied their constituents the right of representation.'' The same editor asserted that Secretary of State William M. McFarland and Auditor of State Cornelius G. McCarthy, both of whom had worked against Gear, had been threatened with defeat for reëlection unless they ceased their opposition.[446]

The result, however, was accepted with good grace on all sides, for throughout the whole contest no objection had been raised against Gear personally, except in respect to his age. On January 17th and 24th the houses of the General Assembly met in joint convention and each time John H. Gear received an overwhelming majority over Horace Boies, his Democratic opponent;[447] and once more the question of the senatorial succession was settled.

XVIII

THE ELECTION OF WILLIAM B. ALLISON IN 1896

No other man in Iowa history has ever received the long continued and almost universal support and confidence of his constituents that was given to Senator William B. Allison. His first election was accomplished only after a long and bitter contest, but thereafter he was returned time after time with ever lessening opposition, until the contest that came shortly before his death. Thus it is that his re-election in 1896 met with the unanimous approval of the Republicans of Iowa, as well as of a majority of the members of the Democratic party. His influence in the United States Senate and in the councils of the Nation was so well recognized that there was no thought of supplanting him by a new and inexperienced man.

The absence of any dissenting voice in the ranks of the Republican party in this case may also be accounted for by the fact that during the fall of 1895 and the months which followed, the name of Senator Allison was frequently mentioned as a candidate for the presidential nomination. Indeed, it may be said that there was a distinct Allison boom, not only in Iowa, but in many of the States west of the Missis-

sippi River. And so it would have been the height of disloyalty for his party in Iowa to have shown the least dissatisfaction with his record as a Senator. The threats and warnings made two years earlier were all forgotten, the locality argument was ignored, and all sections united in supporting him for the senatorship.

The prohibition question was again an issue in the State campaign of 1895 and during the months which immediately preceded the meeting of the legislature a movement was put on foot to secure a re-submission of a prohibitory amendment to the State Constitution. The movement furnished opportunity for a small partisan newspaper warfare in which the Republicans were charged with being afraid of the issue which had in the past proved a thorn in the flesh of the party. Furthermore, an effort was made to bring about dissension among the Republicans by complicating Allison's senatorial and presidential chances with the re-submission question.

"Preliminary to the campaign for the nomination of Allison for the presidency", declared *The Des Moines Leader,* "it is deemed necessary, in order to put him before the public in the light of the favorite son of a republican state, that he be given a triumphant re-election to the senate this winter. But the same legislature, the Republicans of which will vote for Allison for the senatorship, will be called upon to deal with the resubmission question." The Republicans, declared the editor, wished to de-

feat re-submission because the approval of prohibition by the legislature would imply that Allison was the choice of prohibitionists and would greatly injure his chances in the race for the presidential nomination. Consequently it had been decided to work against the election of certain legislative candidates who were known to be strongly in favor of the re-submission of a prohibitory amendment. "It is not understood that this course has the specific endorsement of the state central committee, in its official capacity", concluded the editor, "but the inner circle of Allison boomers think they can work it."[448]

In the same paper two months later the Republicans were charged with another nefarious scheme in the interest of Allison's presidential candidacy. It was said that a plan was being concocted to elect Allison as soon as possible after the convening of the General Assembly, pass the necessary appropriation bills, and then adjourn the legislature until after the National Republican Convention in June without taking up the liquor question. This was to be accomplished under the pretense of giving time for a committee to make a thorough examination of the proposed new code. This would leave the Allison candidacy free from prejudice either way on the liquor question.[449]

These charges, of course, were promptly taken up and branded as ridiculous by Allison's friends. "Only a bungler", said Editor Clarkson, "would hope to advance Senator Allison's interests in such

a manner. When the legislature meets it will proceed to business, without regard to the malicious stories of papers like the Leader.''[450]

Succeeding events proved the truth of this assertion; for there was nothing in the action of the General Assembly, which convened on January 13, 1896, to indicate an attempt to adjourn as had been charged. On Wednesday evening, January 15th, the Republican members of the legislature met in caucus and gave to William B. Allison the most enthusiastic nomination of his entire career, thus indicating to the Nation at large that the State of Iowa stood squarely behind the movement to place him in the White House. There were eloquent and eulogistic speeches of nomination by Lyman Ellis and M. L. Temple on behalf of the members of the Senate and House of Representatives respectively, and seconding speeches by Thomas D. Healy and W. C. McArthur. The nomination was then made by acclamation, and amid hearty applause Senator Allison was escorted to the Speaker's desk, where he spoke briefly in appreciation of the honor conferred upon him.[451]

An overwhelming vote in favor of Allison was revealed when the two houses of the legislature met in joint convention on January 22, 1896. One hundred and eighteen votes were cast for him; while Washington I. Babb, the Democratic nominee, received but twenty-five. One vote was cast for Frank Q. Stuart.[452] At the age of sixty-six, therefore, William B. Allison was almost unanimously returned to the United States Senate.

XIX

SENATORIAL ELECTIONS IN IOWA 1900-1911

THERE were five elections of United State Senators in Iowa in the eleven years beginning with 1900 and ending with the session of the Thirty-fourth General Assembly in 1911. In three cases there were sharp contests, while in two instances the elections were accomplished with scarcely any opposition. But all of these elections are so recent and in several instances factional feeling was so strong that to present a detailed discussion at this time would be both impracticable and unwise. Consequently, no effort will be made to treat these contests in detail, but rather to present merely the main facts and incidents in each case.

THE ELECTION OF JOHN H. GEAR IN 1900

The decade under discussion opens with the dramatic contest between John H. Gear and Albert B. Cummins which ended in January, 1900. In the campaign much of the same ground was covered as in the contest in which the same men were involved six years earlier. There was this difference, however, that the race was practically narrowed down to two candidates and was consequently more direct and intense.

Many of the arguments which had been advanced against Gear in the previous contest were revived, and in addition some new ones were employed. Gear's age was frequently referred to as a serious objection to his reëlection. A letter written by him in February, 1881, was quoted in which he had objected to the reëlection of Samuel J. Kirkwood on the ground of age — Kirkwood being sixty-nine years old at the time. The inconsistency of his own candidacy at the age of seventy-five was thus pointed out by his opponents.[453]

Locality was likewise again urged against Gear to a certain extent, though this point was not especially emphasized. The injustice of allowing two Mississippi River counties to have both United States Senators, when all of western Iowa had been thus far practically unrepresented in the Senate, was occasionally referred to by the supporters of Cummins; and there were suggestions that Gear's election would mean the defeat of Allison in 1902.

Again, bad faith was imputed to Gear in that, as was alleged, a number of the legislators had been induced to vote for him in 1894 by the declaration that he desired only one term in the Senate to "round out" his political career and by a wager which he made at that time that he would not again be a candidate for the senatorship.[454] An attempt was also made to array the laboring men of the party against Gear by charging him with a lack of sympathy with the efforts of labor to secure justice. His record in attempting to settle the labor troubles

at the United States Arsenal on Rock Island was cited as evidence.[455] Moreover, his methods of carrying on the campaign for the senatorship were referred to as cheap and undignified. He had sent out circular letters to prominent Republicans in all parts of the State, asking their support and stating that his age should not be used as an argument against him. The sort of help that could be secured by a printed circular letter and four cents in stamps was alluded to as very cheap help.[456]

But the argument used with the greatest energy in the attempt to prevent the reëlection of Gear was the charge that he was the candidate of a "Senatorial Trust", a dangerous political machine which was endeavoring to assume a dictatorship in Iowa politics. The men who made up this "Senatorial Trust" or "Regency" were said to be the members of the Iowa delegation in the lower house of Congress, a number of Federal officials from Iowa, and five or six candidates who had run against Gear for the senatorship in 1894. These men, especially the Congressmen and former senatorial candidates, it was said, had declared that they would not be candidates for the senatorship in this contest in case it appeared that Gear would win. Thus they had combined to dictate the election of Gear or of some other one of their number in case the election of Gear could not be accomplished. The danger of permitting this alleged machine to gain control of the State was again and again pointed out by those who were working for the success of Albert B. Cummins.[457]

Senator Gear, on the other hand, had a great many ardent supporters among the Republican editors and politicians of Iowa, and the attacks upon him were repelled with vigor. The age argument was declared to be unjust because Senator Gear was in better physical and mental condition than when first elected, besides having the advantage of experience in the Senate. As far as Gear's attitude toward the laboring man was concerned it was declared that his record needed no defense, and he was given the title of "Iowa's Great Commoner".[458]

Finally, the existence of any "Senatorial Trust" or machine organized to return Gear to the Senate was denied. If the Congressmen and other politicians named were actually working for Gear it was merely because of personal preference, or for a reason even more potent — namely, the desire of their constituents. These men doubtless wished to retain their own positions and to have attempted anything of the character alleged would have meant defeat for them. Furthermore, more than one of these very politicians was believed to imagine "that the finger of destiny is pointing at him" in connection with the senatorship, either at this time or later.[459]

The Gear support, however, was not content merely to defend their own candidate. They waged offensive warfare also against the candidacy of Albert B. Cummins. The chief point of their opposition was the record of Cummins as a Republican, and the emphasis on this point was continued

throughout the campaign. In 1887 Mr. Cummins had been the choice of a group of Republicans (who refused to support the prohibition policy) as their candidate for State Representative. His candidacy was endorsed by the Democrats, and with the aid of Democratic votes he had been elected.

On the other hand the supporters of Cummins declared that as a member of the legislature he had voted with the Republicans on all questions except prohibition. But the fact that he had been elected by the aid of Democratic votes was sufficient to blacken his record as a Republican in the eyes of his opponents. *The Council Bluffs Nonpareil* referred to "the political errors Cummins fell into when he supported Boies for Governor and ran on the democratic ticket."[460] Another editor asked: "What will he do if the republican party of the nation declares in favor of some moral question and he differs with them? Will he do as he did with the party in Iowa when it incorporated the temperance question in its platform?"[461] Such were the comments and queries which appeared in the newspapers favorable to Gear throughout the campaign.

In addition to the main argument used against Albert B. Cummins was the charge that his managers had continually endeavored to subordinate every party interest to the success of their candidate. It was charged that to such an extent had this effort been carried that even the appointment of a state-house janitor was hailed as a Cummins victory; that the senatorial question had been carried

into every legislative district with the intention of determining the choice of legislators; that a movement was started to make a nomination for the senatorship at the State Convention, but agitation along this line had subsided when it was found that a majority of the delegates to the convention were Gear men; that an attempt had been made to dictate the election of the speaker of the House of Representatives;[462] and finally it was asserted that back of Mr. Cummins was a "Regency" or machine whose chief purpose was to build up Des Moines as the center and head of political power in Iowa. "This", said Editor J. L. Waite, "more than personal admiration of the candidate, inspires the politicians of Polk county in this campaign".[463]

It was with an exchange of such charges as have been indicated that the contest between the two men raged throughout the year 1899. The county and district nominating conventions, together with the fall elections of members of the legislature, furnished ample opportunity for speculation and figuring. Both sides claimed the victory almost up to the date of the legislative caucus; but an impartial count would doubtless have foreshadowed the success of Senator Gear.

The outcome became very evident when on January 8, 1900, the first day of the session of the Twenty-eighth General Assembly, Willard L. Eaton, the candidate of the Cummins supporters for the speakership, was defeated by D. H. Bowen. The senatorial caucus was held on the evening of the

same day, and it proved comparatively uninteresting. All hope of the election of Albert B. Cummins was now gone, and so in the caucus his name was withdrawn by Thomas A. Cheshire in a speech expressive of entire good feeling. John H. Gear was then nominated for the senatorship by acclamation.[464] The Democrats had chosen Fred E. White as their nominee, but they were so much in the minority that when the journals of the two houses were compared in joint convention on January 17th it was found that White had received only thirty-two votes, while Gear had one hundred and eleven, and was therefore declared his own successor in the Senate.[465]

During the progress of this campaign a prediction was made by the editor of *The Iowa City Republican* which is interesting in the light of subsequent developments. "No one denies Mr. Cummins ability and brilliancy, both of which are unusual", said the editor. "However, under existing circumstances he is in no sense a logical candidate for the United States senate — nor would he be if Mr. Gear were not in the field. The line of succession passes through Mr. Gear's hands to Mr. Dolliver, who seems to be tightening his grasp thereon."[466]

THE APPOINTMENT OF JONATHAN P. DOLLIVER

Probably the editor who made this prediction little dreamed how soon it would be fulfilled. On July 14, 1900, Senator John H. Gear died in the seventy-

sixth year of his life. The entire senatorial question was thus reopened, and there was much conjecture and advice as to the course which Governor Shaw would pursue. It was generally believed that the Governor himself had a personal ambition to go to the Senate, and there were hints that he might work to that end. But all doubt was removed on Wednesday, August 22nd, when it was announced that Jonathan P. Dolliver had been appointed to the vacant senatorship until the next session of the General Assembly, when his friends were confident that the appointment would be confirmed.[467]

THE ELECTION OF ALLISON AND DOLLIVER IN 1902

Albert B. Cummins, however, had not buried his aspirations for the senatorship, and his adherents declared that he would be an active candidate for election by the legislature. "If Dolliver and Cummins had been in each other's places", said former State Auditor McCarthy, one of the managers of the Cummins campaign, "and the governor had appointed Cummins, Mr. Dolliver and his friends would not have laid down and they would have been justified in declining to do so. Just so with Cummins. . . . Mr. Cummins can defeat Dolliver in the legislature, and inside of a year and a half it will be United States Senator Cummins."[468]

Before the meeting of the next General Assembly in 1902, however, the wheel of politics had turned and Albert B. Cummins had been elected Governor of Iowa. As a result the promised contest for the

Gear succession in the Senate did not materialize. There was virtually no objection to the election of Jonathan P. Dolliver. Moreover, in 1902 the legislature was once more called upon to choose a successor to William B. Allison, whose fifth term was about to expire. In this case, also, there was unanimity of feeling which precluded any opposition to the return of the veteran Senator to his seat at Washington. Indeed, so great was the pride of the people of Iowa in the influence which William B. Allison exerted in National affairs that it was even proposed, with much prospect of success, that the crowning touch be given to Allison's long career by a unanimous non-partisan reëlection to the Senate.[469]

The Republican caucus of members of the legislature was held on the evening of January 14, 1902, and William B. Allison and Jonathan P. Dolliver were nominated by acclamation — the former for the full term as his own successor, and the latter for the remainder of the Gear term.[470] Eight days later the result received official confirmation by the legislature, both men receiving one hundred and nineteen votes. E. H. Thayer received twenty Democratic votes for the long term, and John J. Seerley was complimented in a similar manner for the Gear succession.[471]

THE ELECTION OF DOLLIVER IN 1907

On account of the change in the years in which the General Assembly held its session, occasioned by the biennial election law, five years now elapsed before

another senatorial election was held in Iowa. In March, 1907, Senator Dolliver's term would expire and therefore the General Assembly which convened in January of that year was obliged to fill the position thus to be left vacant. The contest, which preceded the election, hardly deserves the name. Senator Dolliver had given general satisfaction and so there was but little opposition to his return. Late in November there were hints that an effort was being made to supplant Dolliver by Cummins, and that Leslie M. Shaw was looking toward taking Allison's place. This scheme was said to be a plan of the Standpatters to get revenge on Dolliver and at the same time to get Cummins out of Iowa.[472] But it was asserted that Governor Cummins would not be a party to any such scheme, which assertion was verified by the Governor's personal denial of his candidacy two months later.[473]

With the refusal of Governor Cummins to enter the field the opposition to Dolliver subsided, and in the legislative caucus on Monday night, January 21, 1907, he was nominated by acclamation without an opposing candidate.[474] The Democratic nominee was Claude R. Porter, who received a total of forty-five votes in the official ballots in the two houses of the legislature, while Jonathan P. Dolliver was victorious by a vote of one hundred and ten.[475]

THE PRIMARY LAW

It was shortly before this election that a movement which had long been growing in favor of the

popular election of United States Senators received a decided impetus. For many years there had been occasional suggestions urging an amendment to the Constitution of the United States whereby Senators might be chosen directly by the people. As early as 1872 this agitation found expression in a resolution in the Iowa Senate, and at many subsequent sessions of the General Assembly there were similar resolutions reflecting the desire of the people in certain parts of the State.[476] The climax of the movement came in 1906, when, in response to a suggestion of Governor Cummins the legislature passed a joint resolution authorizing the Governor of Iowa to invite the Governors of the various States to send delegates to a convention to be held at Des Moines or elsewhere. The purpose of this convention was to secure "such action on the part of the several states as will result in a constitutional convention for the proposal of an amendment to the constitution of the United States providing for the election of United States senators by a direct vote."[477]

In pursuance of this resolution Governor Cummins issued invitations, and on December 5, 1906, delegates from sixteen States assembled in convention at Des Moines for a session of two days. The Governors of many other States wrote letters expressing their hearty approval of the object of the gathering. The addresses and deliberations of this convention aroused widespread interest and the result was that Congress was strongly urged to submit the proposed amendment to a vote of the people.[478]

It was perhaps partly in response to the sentiment aroused by this convention that the primary election law enacted by the legislature in 1907 was made to include United States Senators.[479] It is, moreover, an interesting fact that since the adoption of the primary nomination plan there has been little agitation in Iowa for the direct election of United States Senators.

THE ELECTION OF ALBERT B. CUMMINS

Scarcely had the primary law been adopted when the senatorial question again became a topic of popular interest. At the primaries in June, 1908, the people would have their first opportunity to choose senatorial candidates, by selecting party nominees for successor to Senator Allison. It early became known that Governor Cummins would be a candidate and prospects of a bitter contest between his friends and those of Senator Allison, with little attention paid to other aspirants, soon developed. Moreover, the campaign which was waged from November, 1907, until June, 1908, is unique in the history of Iowa in that the claims of the rival candidates were brought directly before the people in a long series of speeches by the leaders in both camps.

The campaign for Senator Allison was opened by Senator Jonathan P. Dolliver in a speech at Council Bluffs on November 25, 1907. Thereafter Senator Dolliver was the principal speaker for his colleague, and until the choice of the people had been recorded at the primaries he labored incessantly and effective-

ly in behalf of Senator Allison. In his Council Bluffs speech Dolliver declared that Governor Cummins, if he kept his word, was virtually debarred from entering the race on account of statements which he had made in writing in 1906 to the effect that he was not a candidate for the senatorship to succeed Allison. These statements, he declared, had been used to secure Cummins the aid of Allison's friends in the gubernatorial contest.[480]

This declaration on the part of Senator Dolliver introduced into the campaign its most sensational element. The Cummins supporters immediately denied the assertion and demanded that Dolliver produce his proof. In response to this demand he published the famous "Torbert Letter", which as printed in the newspapers reads as follows:

Dubuque, Ia., Dec. 11, 1907.

Hon. J. P. Dolliver, Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator: I have received your letter of Dec. 9. For many years I have been an admirer and warm supporter of Governor Cummins in all his campaigns. On Oct. 19, 1905, he was in Dubuque and his candidacy for renomination and re-election as governor became the subject of a conversation between us. Suggestions had been frequent that he was an aspirant for Senator Allison's place in the senate and that his renomination and re-election as governor would only strengthen him for the contest with Senator Allison. These intimations were not only a hindrance in my work for the governor, but I felt that I could not properly do anything injurious to Senator Allison and so on that occasion I mentioned to him that these suggestions were being made and he told me positively that so

long as Senator Allison desired to be senator from Iowa, he, Cummins, would be his (Allison's) friend and supporter. I carried this assurance to a number of Senator Allison's friends who I thought might be induced to support Mr. Cummins in his candidacy for the governorship.

Their responses were somewhat skeptical and gave me the idea that it would be of advantage to Governor Cummins to give me a written statement on this subject which I might show to Senator Allison's friends and thus assure them of the governor's position as he had verbally stated it to me. Accordingly in the spring of 1906 I had some correspondence on this subject with both Governor Cummins and Mr. F. R. Conaway, who in the governor's frequent absence from Des Moines on his campaign work was looking after the governor's political interests. My last letter on this subject being to Mr. Conaway on April 18, in which I wrote as follows:

"As I wrote you yesterday, I think certainly nothing would help the governor more in Dubuque and the Third district than making some denial that Governor Cummins wanted Senator Allison's seat in the senate."

The following is an exact copy of Governor Cummins' reply to my suggestion:

"I note what you say in regard to Senator Allison. I am not a candidate for Senator Allison's place nor have I ever suggested the thing to mortal man. It is simply abominable the way my enemies lie about me. I am a candidate for governor, nothing else. It would be just as appropriate for me to deny that I was a candidate for president of the United States or for the appointment to some vacancy on the supreme court of the United States as to deny a candidacy against Senator Allison. It is unmitigated rot and should not deceive any man. With sincere regards,

I am yours very truly,

(Signed) ALBERT B. CUMMINS."[481]

Naturally, each side in the contest interpreted the Torbert letter in its own way. The friends of Allison declared that it, together with the Governor's verbal statement, was a bona fide promise not to be a candidate for the senatorship against Allison, and that it was therefore an act of bad faith to enter the race at this time. On the other hand, Governor Cummins in the formal announcement of his candidacy on December 15, 1907, emphatically denied that he had ever promised Willard H. Torbert that he would not be a candidate against Allison. He was not, he said, a candidate for the Senate in 1906 when the letter was written, but it was absurd to imagine that he would agree never to enter the race for Allison's place. He was perfectly willing to leave the question to the decision of the people.[482] Moreover, a leading pro-Cummins editor called attention to the fact that even had the alleged agreement been made it could not be binding upon the people of the State of Iowa.[483]

The general features of the long and somewhat heated campaign which followed are well known — the charges that were made back and forth as Governor Cummins, Senator Dolliver, and others interested in the success of the rival candidates travelled over the State speaking at all the principal cities and towns in the endeavor to secure popular support. The age and comparative feebleness of Senator Allison was a favorite point of attack by the Cummins supporters; while the Governor was charged with unscrupulous ambition by his opponents. The

views of both candidates on the public questions of the day were examined in the minutest detail. The newspapers were literally flooded with articles and comments on the senatorial situation; and the contest was the subject of general conversation.

As June 2nd, the date of the primaries, approached each side claimed the victory. But when the ballots had been cast and counted it was found that William B. Allison was the choice of the Republican voters by a majority of ten thousand six hundred and thirty-five votes. Claude R. Porter received the undivided support of the Democrats; while Malcolm Smith and John M. Work were the recipients of the feeble vote of the Prohibitionists and Socialists respectively.[484] Thus it appeared settled that, unless the Republicans in the legislature failed to carry out the expressed wishes of their constituents, Senator Allison would be returned once more to the United States Senate.

But for the second time within the decade the decision of the people was stayed by the hand of death. On August 4, 1908, Senator William B. Allison passed away at his home in Dubuque. Although there was universal sorrow at the news of his death, naturally the political excitement which had been stilled by the primary elections almost immediately rose to fever heat. The friends of Governor Cummins, while regretting the manner in which the opportunity had been opened, insisted that now there was no reason why their leader should not attain the position to which he had so long aspired.

The chief subject for discussion and speculation now was the course which Governor Cummins would pursue. There seemed to be three alternatives from which the Governor might choose and still remain a candidate for the senatorship. He might make a temporary appointment and then take his chances at the legislative caucus when the General Assembly met in January, 1909. Again, he might immediately resign from the governorship with the understanding that he should be appointed Senator by his successor. Finally, it was suggested that he call an extra session of the legislature either to settle the question or to make it possible for the Republicans again to express their choice at a primary election. The latter course was adopted, and on August 25th Governor Cummins issued a proclamation calling the legislature to convene in extra session on the last day of the same month to consider and pass an amendment to the primary election law.[485]

The Thirty-second General Assembly, therefore, met in extra session on August 31, 1908. After some debate an amendment to the primary election law was adopted, providing that if "the candidate of any party for the office of senator in the congress of the United States who has received the highest number of votes in his party at any primary election as a candidate for such office, die, resign or remove from the state of his residence, or for any other cause a vacancy in such candidacy shall occur after such primary is held and before thirty days prior to the day of the general election in November next follow-

ing, a new primary election shall be held by the members of such party on the day of such general election for the purpose of again nominating and expressing their choice for a candidate for said office".[486]

This amendment, however, applied only to the nomination of a candidate for the full term beginning in March, 1909. The General Assembly therefore undertook to elect someone to fill out Allison's unexpired term. A Republican caucus was called for the evening of September 4th, but only the members of the so-called Progressive wing of the party, which favored Cummins for the senatorship, were present.[487] The absence of the standpat legislators was taken as an indication that they would bolt the caucus nomination, and this proved to be the case. The Republican caucus nominated Governor Cummins, while the Democrats chose Claude R. Porter as their candidate. On September 8th the two houses voted separately for United States Senator and on the following day met in joint convention for a comparison of the journals.

Out of the total number of votes cast Cummins received sixty-four and Porter forty-five. The remaining votes were distributed among the following fourteen men, in numbers varying from one to sixteen: Walter I. Smith, Joseph R. Lane, Frank D. Jackson, William Larrabee, George D. Perkins, Warren Garst, A. B. Funk, John F. Lacey, W. P. Hepburn, George W. Clarke, Gilbert N. Haugen, Albert F. Dawson, James H. Trewin, and Andrew J.

Baker. No one having received a sufficient number of votes to elect, the joint convention took two further ballots with practically the same result. The name of George M. Curtis was added to the list, but on the other hand five names which had appeared on the first ballot were dropped.[488]

Realizing the futility of further balloting and the fact that the expense of the extra session was daily increased, the legislature adjourned to meet again on November 24th, after the result of the primary vote had been determined. It was provided, however, that the members of the General Assembly should receive no additional compensation or mileage for reconvening on November 24th.[489]

Thus, the senatorial question was once more transferred to the public arena. The contest now lay between Albert B. Cummins, the leader of the Progressive Republicans, and John F. Lacey, the candidate of the Standpatters. Once more the newspapers were filled with discussions of the situation and the people listened to earnest speeches in behalf of the two candidates. At the general elections on November 3rd the Republicans expressed their preferences on separate blanks prepared for that purpose, and when the votes were canvassed it was found that Cummins was victorious by the overwhelming majority of over forty-two thousand.[490]

Consequently when the extra session of the General Assembly reconvened on November 24th there was no doubt that Governor Cummins, being the choice of the Republican voters of the State for

the long term in the Senate, would be speedily elected to fill out the short term also. The joint convention re-assembled and a ballot was taken, which resulted in one hundred and seven votes for Albert B. Cummins and thirty-five for Claude R. Porter.[491] The last act in this political drama was enacted on January 20, 1909, when the choice expressed at the November primaries was confirmed by the Thirty-third General Assembly and Senator Cummins was elected for the term of six years beginning on March 4, 1909.[492]

THE ELECTION OF WILLIAM S. KENYON

In the ordinary course of events the next senatorial election would not have come until the session of the General Assembly in 1913, with the contest centering about the primaries in June, 1912. But on October 16, 1910, the people of the State were shocked by the unexpected news that Senator Jonathan P. Dolliver had passed away at his home in Fort Dodge. Nearly three years of the term for which he had been elected still remained, and the filling of the vacancy became a topic of great interest. The name of William S. Kenyon of Fort Dodge was given early prominence; at the same time nearly every prominent Republican leader in the State was mentioned as a possibility. Senator Dolliver's death occurred too late for the amendment to the primary law to be applicable, and thus the action of Governor Carroll was anxiously awaited. Finally, on November 12th he appointed Lafayette Young, Sr. of Des Moines to

fill the vacancy until the legislature would elect a successor to Senator Dolliver.[493]

By the time the General Assembly convened on January 9, 1911, there were unmistakable signs of a deadlock. There was little chance of an immediate agreement between the Progressive and Standpat wings of the Republican party. And it was evident that neither the Progressives nor the Standpatters nor the Democrats could elect their candidate, providing there were no desertions from the other two camps. The basis for a long contest was apparent when the votes cast in the two houses separately were canvassed in joint convention on January 18th. Claude R. Porter, the Democratic candidate, stood in the lead with fifty votes; while the Standpat nominee, Lafayette Young, Sr., had thirty-three. The votes of the Progressives were divided between A. B. Funk, H. W. Byers, William S. Kenyon, Warren Garst, C. H. Wilson, and Guy S. Feely, twenty-one and twenty-two votes going to A. B. Funk and William S. Kenyon respectively. Carl F. Franke, usually classed as a Standpatter, received two votes.[494]

No one had received a majority of the votes cast, and hence the joint convention proceeded to ballot for the election of a Senator, but without success. As is well known, this process was repeated each day of the session until the last day, April 12th, when the long deadlock was finally broken. The Progressives gradually centered their votes on William S. Kenyon, although there were occasional dissenting bal-

lots. The support of the Standpatters remained firm for Lafayette Young, Sr. until February 15th, when his name was withdrawn in favor of Justice Horace E. Deemer, who hitherto had not been a contestant.[495] The immediate result of this change of front was an increase in the votes given to Deemer over the number received by Young. But the hope of thus ending the struggle soon glimmered, for the joint convention assembled day after day at the hour of noon and balloted in vain. The spirit of compromise and concession was not present. Not until the last day of the session had arrived and the sixty-seventh ballot was cast did the deadlock come to an end. On April 12th, on the second ballot of the day, William S. Kenyon received eighty-five votes and was declared "duly elected as United States Senator in Congress to fill the vacancy for the term ending March 4, 1913."[496]

This contest closes the history of the election of United States Senators from Iowa for a period of sixty-five years from 1846 to 1911. The first and the last elections were accomplished only after long deadlocks, while in between were many contests characterized by intense rivalry and dramatic incidents. Throughout this period Iowa has been represented in the United States Senate by men of ability, honesty, and faithfulness to their constituents.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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CHAPTER I

[1] For discussions of this controversy see Shambaugh's *Maps Illustrative of the Boundary History of Iowa* in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics,* Vol. II, pp. 372-376; and Pelzer's *Augustus Caesar Dodge,* pp. 112-127.

[2] *The Iowa Standard* (Iowa City), New Series, Vol. I, No. 19, October 21, 1846.

[3] *The Bloomington Herald* (New Series), Vol. I, No. 25, November 6, 1846.

[4] Senator Jacob Huner, and Representatives Josiah Clifton and Reuben Conlee.— Gue's *History of Iowa,* Vol. I, p. 238.

[5] *The Iowa Standard* (Iowa City), New Series, Vol. I, No. 22, November 11, 1846.

[6] *The Iowa Standard* (Iowa City), New Series, Vol. I, No. 24, November 25, 1846.

[7] Pelzer's *Augustus Caesar Dodge,* Chs. IV-VIII.

[8] Letter dated October 4, 1846.— *Correspondence of Laurel Summers,* Historical Department, Des Moines.

[9] Quoted from the *Iowa Capital Reporter* in *The Bloomington Herald* (New Series), Vol. I, No. 27, November 20, 1846.

[10] *The Bloomington Herald* (New Series), Vol. I, No. 27, November 20, 1846.

[11] *The Iowa Standard* (Iowa City), New Series, Vol. I, No. 24, November 25, 1846.

[12] *The Iowa Standard* (Iowa City), New Series, Vol. I, No. 25, December 2, 1846.

[13] See Gue's *History of Iowa,* Vol. I, p. 238.

A diligent search has failed to produce any information concerning Jonathan McCarty, except that he was a resident of Lee County.— See Gue's *History of Iowa,* Vol. I, p. 238.

Gilbert C. R. Mitchell was one of the early settlers of Davenport, where he engaged in the practice of law. In 1843 he was elected to the lower house of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Iowa and in 1846 received the nomination for Congressman from the new State, but was defeated. He later became mayor of the city of Davenport and in 1857 was elected Judge of the Fourteenth Judicial District. He remained a Whig until that party began to take on Free Soil ideas, when he transferred his allegiance to the Democrats.— *Annals of Iowa,* (1st Series), Vol. II, pp. 262, 263.

Judge Thomas S. Wilson, of Dubuque, was a prominent figure in early Iowa, having been one of the three Judges of the Supreme Court during the Territorial period. He continued to play a prominent part in State politics for many years as will be seen in the course of this narrative.

For a full account of the life of Augustus C. Dodge see Pelzer's *Augustus Caesar Dodge* in the *Iowa Biographical Series.*

[14] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1846-1847, pp. 40, 41.

[15] *Journal of the Senate,* 1846-1847, p. 33.

[16] *The Iowa Standard* (Iowa City), New Series, Vol. I, No. 26, December 9, 1846.

[17] *The Bloomington Herald* (New Series), Vol. I, No. 30, December 11, 1846.

[18] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1846-1847, pp. 54, 55. King submitted a number of papers in support of his assertions. For an excellent discussion of this bribery case see Miss Martin's *A Bribery Episode in the First Election of United States Senators in Iowa* in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics,* Vol. VII, p. 483.

[19] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1846-1847, pp. 56, 57.

The investigating committee which was later increased to seven members, held several sessions, took the testimony of a number of persons, and reported without recommendation on February 4, 1847. On the day of adjournment a resolution was adopted administering a public reprimand to Samuel T. Marshall for contempt of the House in offering a bribe to one of its members.— See *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1846-1847, pp. 236, 425, 437-472.

[20] *The Bloomington Herald* (New Series), Vol. I, No. 31, December 18, 1846.

[21] William Patterson was the father-in-law of Samuel T. Marshall who was accused of the attempt to bribe Nelson King.— *The Bloomington Herald* (New Series), Vol. I, No. 31, December 18, 1846.

[22] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1846-1847, p. 472. See also pp. 461-470.

[23] *Journal of the Senate,* 1846-1847, pp. 41, 43, 45; and *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1846-1847, pp. 67-69, 75.

[24] *The Iowa Standard* (Iowa City), New Series, Vol. I, No. 27, December 16, 1846.

[25] *Journal of the Senate,* 1846-1847, p. 45.

[26] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1846-1847, pp. 83-85.

[27] *Journal of the Senate,* 1846-1847, pp. 55, 56.

[28] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1846-1847, pp. 92, 93.

[29] The full text of the resolution as given in the *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1846-1847, p. 92, is as follows:

Resolved, by the General Assembly of the State of Iowa, That the Senate and House of Representatives of said State, meet together in the hall of said House on Friday, the 18th instant, at half past eleven, A. M. of said day, and proceed and elect two Senators to the Congress of the United States; and that the manner in which said election shall be conducted shall be as follows, to wit: The names of the members voting in joint election, as aforesaid, shall be called alphabetically, and upon the call of each member's name, he shall vote for one person for the office of United States Senator; and the clerks or tellers, as the case may be, shall note down opposite to each member's name, as he votes, the name of the person for whom he votes. And after all of the names of the members of the General Assembly shall have been called over, the clerks or tellers, as the case may be, shall count the number of votes given for each and every person voted for, and the person having a majority of all the votes given for Senator, as aforesaid, shall be declared to have been duly elected.

Sec. 2. And thereupon, the said General Assembly, in joint convention, as aforesaid, shall proceed to elect another Senator, in the manner aforesaid.

[30] See Gue's *History of Iowa,* Vol. I, p. 238.

[31] *Journal of the Senate,* 1846-1847, pp. 57, 58; and *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1846-1847, p. 95.

[32] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1846-1847, pp. 95, 96.

[33] *The Iowa Standard* (New Series), Vol. I, No. 28, December 23, 1846.

[34] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1846-1847, pp. 98, 99.

[35] *The Iowa Standard* (Iowa City), New Series, Vol. I, No. 28, December 23, 1846.

[36] *The Iowa Standard* (Iowa City), New Series, Vol. I, No. 28, December 23, 1846.

The Whigs had some basis for their complaint, for a no less prominent Democrat than ex-Governor James Clarke, in writing to Laurel Summers on December 29, 1846, made the following statement:

> My motto is *Better be not represented at all than misrepresented;* and if two democrats cannot be elected I would take the responsibility of holding off. . . . I fear, however, that the members will not all be found possessed of sufficient nerve to carry out this policy, and therefore shall not be surprised at any result which may take place.

— *Correspondence of Laurel Summers,* Historical Department, Des Moines.

[37] Gue's *History of Iowa,* Vol. I, p. 239.

[38] Letter from Bernhardt Henn to George W. Jones, dated January 17, 1847.— *Correspondence of George W. Jones,* Historical Department, Des Moines.

[39] Letter dated December 29, 1846.— *Correspondence of Laurel Summers,* Historical Department, Des Moines.

[40] *Journal of the Senate,* 1846-1847, p. 67.

[41] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1846-1847, p. 110.

[42] *The Iowa Standard* (Iowa City), New Series, Vol. I, No. 30, January 13, 1847.

[43] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1846-1847, p. 415.

[44] *The Bloomington Herald* (New Series), Vol. I, No. 41, February 26, 1847.

[45] Quoted from the *Lee County Democrat* in *The Iowa Standard* (Iowa City), New Series, Vol. I, No. 34, February 10, 1847.

[46] *Laws of Iowa,* 1846-1847, pp. 92-94.

[47] *The Iowa Standard* (Iowa City), New Series, Vol. II, No. 14, November 24, 1847.

[48] *The Iowa Standard* (Iowa City), New Series, Vol. II, No. 14, November 24, 1847.

[49] *The Bloomington Herald* (New Series), Vol. II, No. 81, December 4, 1847.

The "Old Red" here spoken of was probably Thomas Hart Benton, Jr., or possibly James M. Morgan.

[50] Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa,* Vol. I, p. 418.

[51] *The Iowa Standard* (Iowa City), New Series, Vol. II, No. 17, December 15, 1847.

[52] *The Iowa Standard* (Iowa City), New Series, Vol. II, No. 15, December 1, 1847.

[53] *Keokuk Register,* Vol. I, No. 34, January 13, 1848.

[54] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1848 (extra session), p. 12.

[55] *Journal of the Senate,* 1848 (extra session), pp. 7, 13, 14.

It seems that James Davis had removed from Wapello to Keokuk and had accepted the position of United States Deputy Surveyor. Thomas Baker had been elected and was

serving as Prosecuting Attorney in Polk County; while John M. Whitaker had been appointed Agent of the Treasury Department, to make selections for school lands, though it was not proved that he received any compensation.— *Keokuk Register,* Vol. I, No. 37, February 3, 1848; and *Journal of the Senate,* 1848 (extra session), p. 56.

[56] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1848 (extra session), p. 159.

[57] For reports of committees and protests see *Journal of the Senate,* 1848 (extra session), pp. 25, 34, 39, 56, 70.

[58] *Keokuk Register,* Vol. I, No. 37, February 3, 1848.

[59] *Weekly Miners' Express* (Dubuque), Vol. VII, No. 22, February 9, 1848.

[60] *Keokuk Register,* Vol. I, No. 37, February 3, 1848.

[61] *Iowa Democratic Enquirer* (Bloomington), Vol. I, No. 16, October 28, 1848.

[62] Letter dated October 2, 1848.— *Correspondence of Gideon S. Bailey,* Historical Department, Des Moines.

For an account of Dodge's activities during the months preceding the meeting of the General Assembly see Pelzer's *Augustus Caesar Dodge,* pp. 134, 135.

[63] From an account of the caucus by its secretary, Lysander W. Babbitt, in *Annals of Iowa* (1st Series), Vol. IX, No. 4, October, 1871, pp. 654-656. For a biography and autobiography of Senator Jones see Parish's *George Wallace Jones* in the *Iowa Biographical Series.*

[64] Article on *The First Democratic Legislative Caucus in the State of Iowa,* by L. W. Babbitt, in *Annals of Iowa* (1st Series), Vol. X, No. 2, April, 1872, pp. 125-127.

[65] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1848-1849, pp. 28-32, 35.

[66] *Congressional Globe,* 2nd Session, 30th Congress, p. 97.

[67] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1848-1849, pp. 377, 378. The joint convention was held on January 10, 1849.

[68] Pelzer's *Augustus Caesar Dodge,* p. 137.

CHAPTER II

[69] *Fairfield Ledger,* Vol. II, No. 50, November 25, 1852.

[70] *Burlington Daily Telegraph,* Vol. II, No. 148, November 30, 1852.

[71] *Burlington Daily Telegraph,* Vol. II, No. 151, December 3, 1852.

[72] See the files of the *Burlington Daily Telegraph* for the latter part of November, 1852.

[73] *Iowa Democratic Enquirer* (Muscatine), Vol. V, No. 22, December 4, 1852.

[74] *Burlington Daily Telegraph,* Vol. II, No. 153, December 6, 1852.

[75] *Burlington Daily Telegraph,* Vol. II, No. 151, December 3, 1852.

[76] *Burlington Daily Telegraph,* Vol. II, No. 155, December 8, 1852.

[77] *Fairfield Ledger,* Vol. II, No. 52, December 9, 1852.

[78] *Iowa Democratic Enquirer* (Muscatine), Vol. V, No. 23, December 11, 1852.

Thomas L. Sargeant, of Des Moines County, is doubtless the man referred to as "Gen. Sargeant".

[79] *Iowa Democratic Enquirer* (Muscatine), Vol. V, No. 23, December 11, 1852.

[80] *Burlington Daily Telegraph,* Vol. II, No. 164, December 18, 1852.

[81] *Democratic Banner* (Davenport), Vol. V, No. 8, December 24, 1852. The vote stood as follows: Jones 30, Johnson 6, Kinney 5, Clark 5, Grant 4, Negus 4, Thompson 1, Williams 1, Carleton 1, Hempstead 1, Bates 1.

[82] *Iowa Democratic Enquirer* (Muscatine), Vol. V, No. 25, December 25, 1852.

[83] Letter dated December 21, 1852.— *Correspondence of George W. Jones,* Historical Department, Des Moines.

[84] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1852-1853, pp. 89-91.

[85] *Iowa Democratic Enquirer* (Muscatine), Vol. V, No. 25, December 25, 1852.

[86] *Congressional Globe,* 2nd session, 32nd Congress, pp. 180, 256.

[87] *Burlington Daily Telegraph,* Vol. II, No. 168, December 23, 1852.

CHAPTER III

[88] Rhodes's *History of the United States,* Vol. I, pp. 490, 491.

[89] For a discussion of this campaign see Pelzer's *The History and Principles of the Democratic Party of Iowa 1846-1857,* in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics,* Vol. VI, No. 2, pp. 204-211.

[90] *Fairfield Ledger,* Vol. IV, No. 33, August 3, 1854.

[91] *Demoine Courier* (Ottumwa), Vol. VI, No. 31, August 17, 1854.

[92] *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan,* p. 850.

[93] *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan,* p. 856.

[94] *Dubuque Daily Herald,* Vol. IV, No. 148, October 10, 1854.

[95] *Dubuque Daily Herald,* Vol. IV, No. 153, October 16, 1854.

[96] From a statement in the *Keosauqua Union,* reprinted in the *Dubuque Daily Herald,* Vol. IV, No. 151[157], Friday, October 18[20], 1854.

[97] *Burlington Tri-Weekly Hawk-Eye* (Third Year), Vol. I, No. 6, November 23, 1854.

[98] Letter dated November 14, 1854, to Dr. Gideon S. Bailey, found in the Bailey collection of letters in the Historical Department, Des Moines.

[99] *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan,* p. 852.

[100] *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan,* pp. 852, 854.

[101] *Daily Express and Herald* (Dubuque), Vol. IV, No. 196, December 5, 1854.

[102] *Daily Express and Herald* (Dubuque), Vol. IV, No. 197, December 6, 1854.

[103] *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan,* pp. 857, 858. See also the *Burlington Daily Telegraph,* Vol. V, No. 151, December 8, 1854. The name Shelladay is to be found spelled in every conceivable manner, but the spelling here used seems to have been most generally employed.

[104] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1854-1855, pp. 57, 58. The resolution was first introduced on December 9.

[105] *Iowa Democratic Enquirer* (Muscatine), Vol. VII, No. 23, December 14, 1854.

[106] *Burlington Tri-Weekly Hawk-Eye* (Third Year), Vol. I, No. 16, December 16, 1854. Also *Daily Express and Herald* (Dubuque), Vol. IV, No. 208, December 19, 1854.

[107] *Daily Express and Herald* (Dubuque), Vol. IV, No. 208, December 19, 1854.

[108] *Journal of the Senate,* 1854-1855, p. 42.

[109] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1854-1855, p. 61.

[110] *Journal of the Senate,* 1854-1855, p. 44. There are a few slight differences between the record in the journals of the houses in the matter of the spelling and arrangement of names, and the *Journal of the Senate* seems the more satisfactory for reference at this particular point.

[111] The complete vote was as follows: Augustus Caesar Dodge 29, Fitz Henry Warren 16, Edward Johnson [Johnstone] 11, James B. Howell 9, Ebenezer Cook 7, Jacob Butler 5, Joseph H. D. Street 5, Stephen B. Shelladay 4, James Harlan 4, Thomas H. Benton, Jr. 3, George G. Wright 3, E. W. Eastman 1, Joseph Williams 1, and J. C. Hall 1.—*Journal of the Senate,* 1854-1855, pp. 44, 45.

It should be noted that J. C. Hall received one vote although he had not been nominated, and that although Thomas W. Claggett had been nominated he received no votes.

[112] *Journal of the Senate,* 1854-1855, pp. 45-48. The second vote stood as follows: A. C. Dodge 29, F. H. Warren 18, Edward Johnson [Johnstone] 14, James Harlan 12, J. B. Howell 9, Ebenezer Cook 8, J. H. D. Street 5, S. B. Shelladay 2, E. W. Eastman 1.

[113] Letter from Samuel McFarland to James Harlan, dated December 14, 1854.— *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan.*

[114] The ballots were as follows:

First ballot.— Warren 17, Harlan 13, Street 1, Cook 2, Howell 11.

Second ballot.— Warren 18, Harlan 17, Cook 2, Howell 8.

Third ballot.— Warren 18, Harlan 19, Cook 1, Howell 6, Shelladay 1.

Fourth ballot.— Warren 21, Harlan 18, Howell 6.

Fifth ballot.— Warren 21, Harlan 23.

Sixth ballot.— Warren 18, Harlan 27.

Seventh ballot.— Warren 16, Harlan 29.

— *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan,* p. 876.

[115] *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan,* pp. 859, 860.

[116] See the *Daily Express and Herald* (Dubuque), Vol. IV, No. 208, December 19, 1854.

[117] Stiles's *General Fitz Henry Warren* in *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VI, No. 7, pp. 486, 487.

[118] *Journal of the Senate,* 1854-1855, p. 49.

[119] *Journal of the Senate,* 1854-1855, p. 49.

[120] *Iowa Democratic Enquirer* (Muscatine), Vol. VII, No. 24, December 21, 1854.

[121] *Journal of the Senate,* 1854-1855, p. 50.

[122] Letter from Samuel McFarland to James Harlan, dated December 14, 1854.— *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan.*

[123] *Daily Express and Herald* (Dubuque), Vol. IV, No. 211, December 22, 1854. "Wooly" was a term applied to the Anti-Nebraska men, because of their leaning toward abolitionism.

[124] Letters from J. J. Matthews and Daniel Anderson, dated December 14, 1854.— *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan.*

[125] *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan.*

[126] *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan.*

[127] *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan.*

Harlan's reply reads as follows:

Iowa City Dec 20th. 1854

Gentlemen:

Yours of the 14th inst. informing me of the adjournment of the Convention of the two houses of the General Assembly of the State of Iowa to enable members to become acquainted with the views of gentlemen whose names had been presented as candidates for the senate of the U. States, and propounding a list of interrogatories involving grave questions of *Constitutional Law*, of *Legislative Expediency*, and of *Conscience*, and requesting a reply, to be laid before the Convention on the 21st inst. has been received. And in reply I beg leave to say that if elected to the Senate of the United States, in all *Constitutional* questions that might arise, I would expect to be guided in my action by the decision of the Supreme Court and the well settled principles of Constitution[al] Law — in all questions of *Legislative Expediency*, by the views and wishes of the Legislature and people of Iowa — and in all questions of *Conscience* by the Bible.

[128] *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1854-1855, pp. 102-108. This journal is more satisfactory at this point because of greater detail.

The last vote was as follows: Harlan 41, Cook 18,

Claggett 13, Henn 10, Street 6, Butler 3, P. Gad Bryan 3, Dodge 2, Lincoln Clark 1, Benjamin M. Samuels 1.

[129] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1854-1855, pp. 109-111.

[130] *Iowa Democratic Enquirer* (Muscatine), Vol. VII, No. 24, December 21[28], 1854.

[131] *Burlington Tri-Weekly Hawk-Eye* (Third Year), Vol. I, No. 23, January 2, 1855.

[132] *Burlington Tri-Weekly Hawk-Eye* (Third Year), Vol. I, No. 23, January 2, 1855.

[133] Letter from James W. Grimes to George Frazee, dated January 6, 1855.— Printed in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VII, No. 3, p. 235.

[134] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1854-1855, pp. 151-156.

The votes at this session were:

Sixth vote.— Harlan 46, Cook 21, Browning 17, Bryan 6, Henn 4, Wm. McKay 1, Benton 1, Claggett 1.

Seventh vote.— Harlan 47, Cook 29, Browning 19, John G. Shields 2, McKay 1, Thompson 1.

Eighth vote.— Harlan 47, Browning 35, Cook 14, O. D. Tisdale 1, Benton 1, McKay 1.

There are a few discrepancies between the two journals. The Senate *Journal* gives Cook twenty-two on the sixth vote, and includes the name of Richard Bonson as having received one. On the seventh vote the name of W. A. Thurston is given instead of that of Thompson given in the House *Journal.* Which record is correct is not known.— See *Journal of the Senate,* 1854-1855, p. 106.

[135] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1854-1855, pp. 163-178.

[136] *Journal of the Senate,* 1854-1855, p. 116.

[137] Letter from James W. Grimes to some person not designated, dated January 7, 1855.— Printed in Salter's *The Life of James W. Grimes,* p. 64.

[138] *Iowa Democratic Enquirer* (Muscatine), Vol. VII, No. 27, January 11, 1855.

This account is doubtless somewhat exaggerated, but the facts are correct, and it is not more extravagant than descriptions printed in other newspapers of the day.

[139] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1854-1855, pp. 184-188. See also *Burlington Tri-Weekly Hawk-Eye* (Third Year), Vol. I, No. 27, January 11, 1855.

The final vote was as follows: James Harlan 52, Bernhart Henn 2, William McKay 1, James Grant 1.

[140] *Laws of Iowa,* 1846-1847, p. 92.

[141] The question of the legality of the election will receive more adequate discussion later in dealing with the contest in the United States Senate.

[142] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1854-1855, pp. 188-190, 208-211; *Journal of the Senate,* 1854-1855, pp. 122, 129.

[143] *Daily Express and Herald* (Dubuque), Vol. IV, No. 227, January 11, 1855.

[144] *Congressional Globe,* 1st Session, 34th Congress, p. 2.

CHAPTER IV

[145] *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan.*

[146] Letter from James W. Grimes, dated November 17, 1855.— *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan.*

[147] *Congressional Globe,* 1st Session, 34th Congress, p. 2.

[148] *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan.*

[149] *Congressional Globe,* 1st Session, 34th Congress, p. 2079.

[150] *Congressional Globe,* 1st Session, 34th Congress, p. 2098.

[151] *Congressional Globe,* 1st Session, 34th Congress, pp. 2129, 2130.

[152] *Congressional Globe,* 1st Session, 34th Congress, p. 2130; and *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan.*

[153] *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan.*

[154] *Congressional Globe,* 3rd Session, 34th Congress, pp. 112-115.

[155] *Congressional Globe,* 3rd Session, 34th Congress, pp. 115-117.

[156] *Congressional Globe,* 3rd Session, 34th Congress, p. 221.

[157] *Congressional Globe,* 3rd Session, 34th Congress, p. 238.

[158] *Congressional Globe,* 3rd Session, 34th Congress, pp. 238, 239.

[159] *Congressional Globe,* 3rd Session, 34th Congress, pp. 239, 240.

[160] *Congressional Globe,* 3rd Session, 34th Congress, pp. 240-244.

[161] *Congressional Globe,* 3rd Session, 34th Congress, pp. 244-246, 248-257, 260-270, 287-299.

[162] *Congressional Globe,* 3rd Session, 34th Congress, p. 299.

[163] *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan.*

[164] *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan.*

[165] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1856-1857, pp. 360-362.

[166] *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan.*

[167] *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan;* also *Congressional Globe,* 3rd Session, 34th Congress, p. 499.

CHAPTER V

[168] *The Dubuque Daily Times,* Vol. I, No. 79, September 14, 1857.

[169] *The Dubuque Daily Times,* Vol. I, No. 82, September 17, 1857.

[170] *Davenport Weekly Gazette,* Vol. XVII, No. 7, October 10[15], 1857.

[171] *Davenport Weekly Gazette,* Vol. XVII, No. 6, October 8, 1857.

[172] *The Dubuque Daily Times,* Vol. I, No. 80, September 15, 1857.

[173] Quoted from the *Chicago Tribune* in *The Weekly Ottumwa Courier* (New Series), Vol. II, No. 45, November 5, 1857.

[174] See Gue's *History of Iowa,* Vol. IV, pp. 52, 53, for a sketch of the life of William Penn Clarke.

[175] See Gue's *History of Iowa,* Vol. IV, pp. 263, 264, for a sketch of the life of James Thorington.

[176] Frederick E. Bissell came to Dubuque in 1845, and for some time he studied law in the office of James Crawford and taught school. He was at different times the law partner of Timothy Davis and Lincoln Clark. At the time of his candidacy for the senatorship he was senior partner of the firm of Bissell, Mills & Shiras, "a firm probably doing the largest law business in Northern Iowa." He was also President of the Dubuque, St. Peters and St. Paul Railroad, and a stockholder in various harbor and improvement companies.— *The Dubuque Weekly Times,* Vol. I, No. 22, November 25, 1857.

[177] *Daily Iowa State Gazette* (Burlington), Vol. III, No. 113, November 11, 1857.

[178] Letter from Will Spicer, dated November 12, 1857.— *Correspondence of William Penn Clarke,* Vol. II, No. 90, Historical Department, Des Moines.

[179] Letter from J. W. Cattell, dated December 6, 1857.— *Correspondence of William Penn Clarke,* Vol. II, No. 81, Historical Department, Des Moines.

[180] Letter from M. W. Farner, dated December 10, 1857. — *Correspondence of William Penn Clarke,* Vol. II, No. 79, Historical Department, Des Moines.

[181] Letter dated October 23, 1857.— *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan.*

[182] *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan.*

[183] *Daily Iowa State Gazette* (Burlington), Vol. III, No. 121, November 20, 1857.

[184] Letter from M. W. Farner to William Penn Clarke,

dated December 10, 1857.— *Correspondence of William Penn Clarke,* Vol. II, No. 79, Historical Department, Des Moines.

[185] Letter dated December 16, 1857.— *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan.*

[186] See the *Iowa State Journal* (Des Moines), Vol. I, No. 46, December 26, 1857.

[187] Letter dated December 5, 1857.— *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan.*

[188] Letter from A. J. Kynett, dated December 14, 1857. — *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan.*

[189] Letter dated December 16, 1857.— *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan.*

[190] *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan.*

[191] Letter from James Harlan, dated December 21, 1857. — *Correspondence of William Penn Clarke,* Vol. II, No. 77, Historical Department, Des Moines.

[192] See letter from A. J. Kynett to James Harlan, dated December 14, 1857.— *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan.*

[193] *Daily Iowa State Gazette* (Burlington), Vol. III, No. 136, December 9, 1857.

[194] *The Dubuque Daily Times,* Vol. I, No. 84, December 19, 1857.

[195] Letter dated January 10, 1858.— *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan.*

[196] *The Dubuque Weekly Times,* Vol. I, No. 29, January

13, 1858; and *The Fairfield Ledger,* Vol. VIII, No. 2, January 14, 1858.

[197] *The Fairfield Ledger,* Vol. VIII, No. 4, January 28, 1858.

[198] *Hamilton Freeman* (Webster City), Vol. I, No. 29, January 28, 1858.

[199] *Daily Iowa State Gazette* (Burlington), Vol. III, No. 180, January 31, 1858; also *Davenport Weekly Gazette,* Vol. XVII, No. 23, February 4, 1858.

[200] Letter from George G. Wright to James Harlan, dated January 25, 1858.— *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan.*

[201] Letter from James W. Grimes to Mrs. Grimes, dated January 25, 1858.— Printed in Salter's *The Life of James W. Grimes,* p. 113.

[202] *Davenport Weekly Gazette,* Vol. XVII, No. 23, February 4, 1858.

[203] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1858, pp. 130-134.

[204] *The Dubuque Weekly Times,* Vol. I, No. 32, February 10, 1858.

CHAPTER VI

[205] See letters written to James Harlan by John Teesdale, James W. Grimes, Elijah Sells, and others during July, 1859.— *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan.*

[206] *The Home Journal* (Mount Pleasant), Vol. IV, No. 13, September 29, 1859.

[207] Quoted from the *Keokuk Gate City* in *The Weekly Hawk-Eye* (Burlington), September 10, 1859.

[208] *Des Moines Valley Whig* (Keokuk), Vol. XIV, No. 5, September 26, 1859.

[209] *Des Moines Valley Whig* (Keokuk), Vol. XIV, No. 5, September 26, 1859.

[210] *The Home Journal* (Mount Pleasant), Vol. IV, No. 13, September 29, 1859.

[211] *Des Moines Valley Whig* (Keokuk), Vol. XIV, No. 6, October 3, 1859.

[212] *The Home Journal* (Mount Pleasant), Vol. IV, No. 24, December 15, 1859.

[213] *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan.*

[214] Letter from James W. Grimes to James Harlan, dated November 4, 1859.— *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan.*

[215] Letter from Thomas M. Bowen to James Harlan, dated November 30, 1859.— *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan.*

[216] Letter from Thomas Drummond to James Harlan, dated December 7, 1859.— *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan.*

[217] Letter from Thomas Drummond to James Harlan, dated December 26, 1859.— *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan.*

[218] Letter from W. C. Drake to James Harlan, dated December 23, 1859.— *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan.*

[219] Letter from Elijah Sells to James Harlan, dated November 8, 1859.— *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan.* See also letters from Hawkins Taylor

and Eliphalet Price to James Harlan, dated November 4, 1859.

[220] See letter from Thomas Drummond to James Harlan, dated December 7, 1859.— *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan.*

[221] *Iowa Weekly Republican* (Iowa City), Vol. X, No. 582, January 18, 1860.

[222] Letter from Martin L. Morris to James Harlan, dated January 14, 1860.— *Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers of James Harlan.*

[223] Des Moines correspondence to the *Keosauqua Republican,* Vol. V, No. 16, January 28, 1860.

[224] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1860, pp. 79-81.

CHAPTER VII

[225] Letter from James W. Grimes to the editor of the *Linn County Register,* dated May 2, 1863.— Printed in Salter's *The Life of James W. Grimes,* p. 236.

[226] *State Press* (Iowa City), Vol. III, No. 41, September 12, 1863.

[227] *Burlington Weekly Argus,* Vol. II, No. 19, September 24, 1863.

[228] See letter from James W. Grimes to Mrs. Grimes, dated September 28, 1863.— Printed in Salter's *The Life of James W. Grimes,* p. 238.

[229] *The Home Journal* (Mt. Pleasant), Vol. VIII, No. 31, January 30, 1864.

[230] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1864, p. 66. See also *The Home Journal* (Mt. Pleasant), Vol. VIII, No.

31, January 30, 1864. The identity of the Mr. Love who received one vote is not known.

CHAPTER VIII

[231] Letter from William M. Stone to Kirkwood, dated March 30, 1865.— *Correspondence of Samuel J. Kirkwood,* Historical Department, Des Moines.

[232] Letter from William M. Stone to Kirkwood, dated June 2, 1865.— *Correspondence of Samuel J. Kirkwood,* Historical Department, Des Moines.

[233] Letter from Marcellus M. Crocker to Kirkwood, dated June 23, 1865.— *Correspondence of Samuel J. Kirkwood,* Historical Department, Des Moines.

[234] Letter from James Harlan to Kirkwood, dated July 18, 1865.— *Correspondence of Samuel J. Kirkwood,* Historical Department, Des Moines.

[235] *Muscatine Daily Journal,* Vol. XI, No. 21, September 11, 1865.

[236] *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye,* September 30, and October 21, 1865.

[237] See letter from James W. Grimes to Kirkwood, dated January 7, 1866.— *Correspondence of Samuel J. Kirkwood,* Historical Department, Des Moines.

[238] Letter from James W. Grimes to Kirkwood, dated September 27, 1865.— *Correspondence of Samuel J. Kirkwood,* Historical Department, Des Moines.

[239] Letter from William B. Lakin to Kirkwood, dated November 10, 1865.— *Correspondence of Samuel J. Kirkwood,* Historical Department, Des Moines.

[240] Letter from Jacob Rich to Kirkwood, dated Decem-

ber 14, 1865.— *Correspondence of Samuel J. Kirkwood,* Historical Department, Des Moines.

[241] Letter from W. Reynolds to Kirkwood, dated December 19, 1865.— *Correspondence of Samuel J. Kirkwood,* Historical Department, Des Moines.

[242] Letters from Jacob Rich to Kirkwood, dated December 14 and 29, 1865.— *Correspondence of Samuel J. Kirkwood,* Historical Department, Des Moines.

[243] *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye,* November 25, 1865. See also extracts from other newspapers printed in this issue.

[244] *Muscatine Daily Journal,* Vol. XI, No. 125, January 3, 1866.

[245] *Iowa City Republican,* Vol. XVII, No. 894, January 10, 1866.

[246] *The Weekly Gate City* (Keokuk), Vol. XX, No. 21, January 9, 1866.

[247] Letter from H. A. Wiltse to Kirkwood, dated January 13, 1866.— *Correspondence of Samuel J. Kirkwood,* Historical Department, Des Moines.

[248] *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye,* January 20, 1866.

[249] The ballots for the long term were as follows:

First ballot.— James Harlan 50, Samuel J. Kirkwood 44, Asahel W. Hubbard 17, William Vandever 4, George G. Wright 1.

Second ballot.— Harlan 57, Kirkwood 46, Hubbard 14.

Third ballot.— Harlan 63, Kirkwood 42, Hubbard 12.

The ballot for the short term was as follows: Samuel J. Kirkwood 80, Enoch W. Eastman 7, William Vandever 9, Fitz Henry Warren 16, George G. Wright 1, James Harlan

2, Grenville M. Dodge 1.— *Iowa City Republican,* Vol. XVII, No. 895, January 17, 1866.

[250] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1866, pp. 64-66.

[251] *Iowa City Republican,* Vol. XVII, No. 895, January 17, 1866.

CHAPTER IX

[252] Salter's *The Life of James W. Grimes,* pp. 367, 371, 372. Senator Grimes died on February 7, 1872.

[253] *Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XIV, No. 32, September 22, 1869.

[254] *Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XIV, No. 41, November 24, 1869.

[255] Quoted from the *Chicago Tribune* in the *Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XIV, No. 42, December 1, 1869. The correspondent was James S. Clarkson, now living in New York City.

[256] *The Iowa North West* (Fort Dodge), Vol. VI, No. 8, January 20, 1870.

[257] *The Iowa North West* (Fort Dodge), Vol. VI, No. 8, January 20, 1870.

[258] *Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. VIII, No. 321, January 14, 1870.

The ballots for the short term were as follows:

Informal ballot.— J. B. Grinnell 39, J. B. Howell 38, William Vandever 24, D. N. Cooley 6, John Scott 8, John A. Kasson 2, D. P. Stubbs 4, Thomas Ballinger 1, Joel Brown 2, Samuel Merrill 1, Joel Smith 1, blank 1.

First ballot.— Howell 56, Grinnell 39, Vandever 19, Scott 11, Brown 2, Cooley 1.

Second ballot.— Howell 60, Grinnell 42, Scott 14, Vandever 3.

Third ballot.— Howell 70, Grinnell 41, Scott 12, Vandever 3.

[259] *Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XIV, No. 49, January 19, 1870.

[260] Act of July 25, 1866.— *United States Statutes at Large,* Vol. XIV, p. 243.

[261] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1870, pp. 80, 81; *Journal of the Senate,* 1870, pp. 39, 40.

[262] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1870, pp. 90, 91.

CHAPTER X

[263] *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye,* December 28, 1871.

[264] This letter may be found in the *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye,* July 6, 1871. It contained nothing more than any person might write in support of a friend.

[265] *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye,* July 6, 1871.

[266] *The Dubuque Weekly Times,* Vol. XVIII, No. 27, July 5, 1871.

[267] Quotation from the *Fort Dodge Republican* in the *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye,* July 27, 1871.

[268] The "German Address" may be found in the *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye,* July 6, 1871.

[269] *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye,* August 3, 1871.

[270] Quotation from the *McGregor News* in the *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye,* June 29, 1871.

[271] Quotation from the *Ottumwa Courier* in the *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye,* July 6, 1871.

[272] *Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. X, No. 300, December 29, 1871.

[273] For counter charges in this respect see the *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye,* August 3, 1871; and *The Dubuque Weekly Times,* Vol. XVIII, No. 34, August 23, 1871.

[274] See quotations from other newspapers in the *Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. X, Nos. 182 and 185, August 9 and 12, 1871.

[275] Quotation from the *Marshall County Times* in the *Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. X, No. 204, September 5, 1871.

[276] *Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. X, No. 212, September 13, 1871.

[277] For instance see the *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye,* September 28, 1871.

[278] *Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. X, No. 230, October 4, 1871.

[279] *The Dubuque Weekly Times,* Vol. XVIII, No. 40, October 4, 1871.

[280] Quotation from *The Washington Press* in the *Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. X, No. 208, September 8, 1871.

[281] For complete statements of these charges see the *Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. X, Nos. 298, 305, and 307, December 27, 1871, and January 4 and 6, 1872.

[282] For instance see the *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye,* December 21 and 28, 1871.

[283] *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye,* December 21, 1871.

[284] Quotation from *The Sioux City Journal* in the *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye,* December 28, 1871.

[285] *The Dubuque Weekly Times,* Vol. XVIII, No. 39, September 27, 1871.

[286] Quotation from the *Pella Blade* in the *Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. X, No. 285, December 9, 1871.

[287] *Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. X, No. 298, December 27, 1871.

[288] *Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. X, No. 307, January 7, 1872.

[289] Quotation from the *Winterset Sun* in the *Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. X, No. 181, August 8, 1871.

[290] Quotation from the *Mount Pleasant Press* in the *Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. X, No. 185, August 12, 1871.

[291] See *The Dubuque Weekly Times,* Vol. XVIII, No. 37, September 13, 1871, for a statement of this charge together with a reply to it.

[292] *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye,* December 28, 1871.

[293] *Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. X, No. 310, January 11, 1872. The ballots were as follows:

Informal ballot.— Allison 60, Harlan 38, Wilson 22.
First formal ballot.— Allison 59, Harlan 42, Wilson 20.
Second formal ballot.— Allison 63, Harlan 40, Wilson 17.

[294] *Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. X, No. 310, January 11, 1872.

[295] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1872, pp. 95, 96. In the Senate Allison received forty-two votes and Harlan seven. In the House of Representatives the vote stood seventy-six for Allison and twenty for Harlan.

CHAPTER XI

[296] Letter from Chief Justice William E. Miller to Kirkwood, dated July 2, 1875.— *Correspondence of Samuel J. Kirkwood,* Historical Department, Des Moines.

[297] Quoted from the *Marshall Times* in *The Iowa Daily State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XIV, No. 162, July 8, 1875.

[298] Quoted from the *Davenport Gazette* in the *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye,* Thursday, July 15, 1875.

[299] Quoted from the *Sioux City Journal* in *The Iowa Daily State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XIV, No. 182, July 31, 1875.

[300] *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye,* Thursday, September 9, 1875.

[301] *The Iowa Daily State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XIV, No. 205, August 27, 1875.

[302] Letter from J. N. Dewey to Kirkwood, dated September 19, 1875.— *Correspondence of Samuel J. Kirkwood,* Historical Department, Des Moines.

[303] Letter from Jacob Rich to Kirkwood, dated November 10, 1875.— *Correspondence of Samuel J. Kirkwood,* Historical Department, Des Moines.

[304] Quoted from the *Pella Blade* in *The Iowa Daily State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XIV, No. 258, November 3, 1875.

[305] Quoted from the *Oskaloosa Herald* in *The Iowa Daily State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XIV, No. 273, November 20, 1875.

[306] Quoted from the *Mt. Pleasant Free Press* in *The*

Iowa Daily State Register (Des Moines), Vol. XIV, No. 263, November 9, 1875.

[307] Quoted from the *Spirit Lake Beacon* in *The Iowa Daily State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XIV, No. 277, November 25, 1875.

[308] Quoted from the *Brighton Star* in the *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye,* December 30, 1875.

[309] For instance see the *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye,* December 9, 1875.

[310] See an extract from the Governor's letter in the *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye,* December 9, 1875.

[311] *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye,* December 9, 1875.

[312] *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye,* December 23, 1875.

[313] *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye,* December 30, 1875.

[314] Letter from John Palmer to Kirkwood, dated November 15, 1875.— *Correspondence of Samuel J. Kirkwood,* Historical Department, Des Moines.

[315] Letter from Warren Danforth to Kirkwood, dated November 26, 1875.— *Correspondence of Samuel J. Kirkwood,* Historical Department, Des Moines.

[316] Letter from J. B. Shepardson to Kirkwood, dated December 15, 1875.— *Correspondence of Samuel J. Kirkwood,* Historical Department, Des Moines.

[317] *The Iowa Daily State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XV, No. 28, January 11, 1876.

[318] *The Iowa Daily State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XV, No. 29, January 12, 1876.

[319] *The Iowa Daily State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XV, No. 30, January 13, 1876.

[320] *The Iowa Daily State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XV, No. 30, January 13, 1876.

The ballots in the caucus were as follows:

Informal ballot.— W. W. Belknap 15, Hiram Price 24, Samuel J. Kirkwood 53, George W. McCrary 15, blank 2.

Formal ballot.— Kirkwood 56, Price 27, Belknap 13, McCrary 14.

[321] *The Iowa Daily State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XV, No. 32, January 15, 1876.

[322] *The Iowa Daily State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XV, No. 30, January 13, 1876.

[323] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1876, pp. 47, 48.

CHAPTER XII

[324] Quoted from the *Oskaloosa Herald* in the *Dubuque Weekly Times,* Wednesday, October 31, 1877.

[325] Quoted from the *Onawa Gazette* in the *Dubuque Weekly Times,* Wednesday, November 7, 1877.

[326] *Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XXI, No. 48, December 21, 1877.

[327] *Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XXI, No. 48, December 21, 1877.

[328] *Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XXI, No. 48, December 21, 1877. The stand on the part of Senator Allison, here referred to, doubtless had to do with certain appointments of ex-Confederates made by President Hayes.

[329] *Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XVI, No. 310, December 18, 1877.

[330] *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye,* Thursday, December 6, 1877.

[331] *Muscatine Weekly Journal,* Friday, December 21, 1877.

[332] *Dubuque Weekly Times,* Wednesday, December 12, 1877; and quotation from the *Burlington Hawk-Eye* in the *Dubuque Weekly Times,* Wednesday, January 9, 1878.

[333] Quoted from the *Sioux City Journal* in the *Dubuque Weekly Times,* Wednesday, December 19, 1877.

[334] *The Cedar Falls Gazette,* Vol. XVIII, No. 38, December 21, 1877.

[335] Quoted from the MacGregor correspondence to the *Dubuque Herald* in *The Cedar Falls Gazette,* Vol. XVIII, No. 40, January 4, 1878.

[336] *The Cedar Falls Gazette,* Vol. XVIII, No. 40, January 4, 1878.

[337] For instance see the *Muscatine Weekly Journal,* Friday, January 4, 1878; and *The Cedar Falls Gazette,* Vol. XVIII, No. 41, January 11, 1878.

[338] For accounts of the caucus see the *Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XXI, No. 52, January 18, 1878; and the *Dubuque Weekly Times,* Wednesday, January 23, 1878.

[339] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1878, p. 49.

[340] *Journal of the Senate,* 1878, p. 30; *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1878, p. 39. There is a discrepancy between the figures given in the two journals and the total vote as stated in the record of the joint convention.

[341] *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye,* Thursday, January 24, 1878.

CHAPTER XIII

[342] *Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XXV, No. 1, January 21, 1881.

[343] Letter from Jacob Rich to Kirkwood, dated February 20, 1881.— *Correspondence of Samuel J. Kirkwood,* Historical Department, Des Moines.

[344] Letter from J. N. Dewey to Kirkwood, dated February 21, 1881.— *Correspondence of Samuel J. Kirkwood,* Historical Department, Des Moines.

[345] Letter from Jacob Rich to Kirkwood, dated March 3, 1881.— *Correspondence of Samuel J. Kirkwood,* Historical Department, Des Moines.

[346] Letter from S. M. Finch to Kirkwood, dated March 5, 1881.— *Correspondence of Samuel J. Kirkwood,* Historical Department, Des Moines.

[347] James W. McDill took his seat in the United States Senate on March 14, 1881.— *Congressional Record,* Special Session of the Senate, 47th Congress, pp. 14, 15.

[348] Letter from James F. Wilson to Kirkwood, dated March 7, 1881.— *Correspondence of Samuel J. Kirkwood,* Historical Department, Des Moines.

[349] *Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XXV, No. 9, March 18, 1881.

[350] *Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XXV, No. 21, June 10, 1881.

[351] Quoted from the *Vinton Observer* in the *Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XXV, No. 21, June 10, 1881.

[352] *Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XXV, No. 24, July 1, 1881.

[353] See quotation from the *Jefferson Bee* in the *Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XXV, No. 24, July 1, 1881.

[354] Quoted from the *Dubuque Times* in the *Iowa City Daily Republican,* Vol. VI, No. 1586, July 28, 1881.

[355] See quotation from the *Atlantic Telegraph* in the *Iowa City Daily Republican,* Vol. VI, No. 1600, August 13, 1881.

[356] *Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XXV, No. 33, September 2, 1881.

[357] Quotation from the *Dubuque Times* in the *Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XXV, No. 34, September 9, 1881.

[358] *Iowa City Daily Republican,* Vol. VI, No. 1628, September 16, 1881.

[359] *Iowa City Daily Republican,* Vol. VI, No. 1639, September 30, 1881.

[360] Quoted from the *Chicago Evening Journal* in the *Iowa City Daily Republican,* Vol. VI, No. 1639, September 30, 1881.

[361] *Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XXV, No. 38, October 7, 1881.

[362] *Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XXV, No. 42, November 4, 1881.

[363] *Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XXV, No. 45, November 25, 1881.

[364] Letter from Kirkwood to Jacob Rich, dated October 3, 1881.—*Letter Book of Samuel J. Kirkwood,* July 12, 1881–June 27, 1885, pp. 31, 32, State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City.

[365] Letter from Kirkwood to E. R. Kirk, dated October 20, 1881.— *Letter Book of Samuel J. Kirkwood,* July 12, 1881–June 27, 1885, p. 53, State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City.

[366] Quoted from the *Worth County Eagle* in the *Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XXV, No. 42, November 4, 1881.

[367] Quoted from the *Cedar Rapids Republican* in the *Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XXV, No. 44, November 18, 1881.

[368] *Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XXV, No. 51, January 6, 1882.

[369] *Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XXV, No. 52, January 13, 1882.

[370] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1882, pp. 80-82. The vote in the House for the full term stood: James F. Wilson 68, L. G. Kinne 19, D. P. Stubbs 6, absent or not voting, 7. The vote in the House for the short term stood: James W. Dill 68, M. M. Ham 18, Daniel Campbell 6, absent or not voting, 8. In the Senate Wilson received 42, Kinne 2, and Stubbs 2; while for the short term McDill received 42, Ham 2, and Campbell 2.— *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1882, pp. 66, 67; and *Journal of the Senate,* 1882, pp. 56, 57.

CHAPTER XIV

[371] See the writer's *History of Liquor Legislation in Iowa* in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics,* Vol. VI, pp. 535-539.

[372] *Iowa State Press* (Iowa City), Vol. XXIII, No. 37, September 12, 1883.

[373] *Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XXII, No. 201, August 24, 1883.

[374] *Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XXII, No. 201, August 24, 1883.

[375] *Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XXII, No. 220, September 15, 1883.

[376] *Iowa State Press* (Iowa City), Vol. XXIII, No. 40, October 3, 1883.

[377] *Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XXII, No. 220, September 15, 1883.

[378] *Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XXII, No. 220, September 15, 1883; and *Iowa City Daily Republican,* Vol. VII, No. 340, October 4, 1883.

[379] Account of speech by James Harlan in *The Burlington Hawk-Eye,* October 3, 1883. See also the *Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XXII, No. 220, September 15, 1883.

[380] *Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XXII, No. 220, September 15, 1883.

[381] Quoted from the *Davenport Gazette* in *The Burlington Hawk-Eye,* October 3, 1883.

[382] *Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XXII, No. 220, September 15, 1883.

[383] Quoted from the *Davenport Gazette* in *The Burlington Hawk-Eye,* October 7, 1883.

[384] See for instance an account of a speech by James B. Weaver in the *Iowa State Press,* Vol. XXIII, No. 40, October 3, 1883.

[385] Statement by J. K. Graves quoted in the *Iowa State Press,* Vol. XXIII, No. 49, December 5, 1883.

[386] *The Burlington Hawk-Eye,* November 29, 1883.

[387] *Iowa State Press,* Vol. XXIII, No. 51, December 19, 1883. See also the same paper for January 16, 1884.

[388] *Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XXII, No. 323, January 16, 1884.

[389] *Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XXII, No. 323, January 16, 1884.

[390] *Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), Vol. XXII, No. 323, January 16, 1884.

[391] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1884, p. 36.

[392] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1884, p. 45. For the separate votes in the House and Senate respectively see *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1884, p. 39; and *Journal of the Senate,* 1884, p. 39.

[393] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1884, pp. 97, 98, 112, 113; and *Journal of the Senate,* 1884, pp. 83, 84. The law of Congress regulating the election of United States Senators provided that the election should begin on the second Tuesday after the legislature had effected its organization. The organization of the General Assembly this year was effected on Tuesday, January 15th, and consequently there was some doubt as to what would be considered the second Tuesday.

CHAPTER XV

[394] Quoted from the *Muscatine Journal* in *The Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), August 13, 1887.

[395] Quoted from the *Audubon Republican* in *The Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), August 13, 1887.

[396] See quotation from the *Keokuk Gate City* in *The Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), August 26, 1887.

[397] See *The Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), August 23, 1887.

[398] *The Fort Dodge Messenger,* Vol. XXIII, No. 39, August 18, 1887.

[399] *The Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), August 19, 1887.

[400] Quoted from the *Montezuma Republican* in *The Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), August 19, 1887.

[401] *The Fort Dodge Messenger,* Vol. XXIV, No. 5, December 22, 1887.

[402] *The Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), January 10, 1888.

[403] *The Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), January 11, 1888.

[404] *The Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), January 11, 1888.

[405] The vote in the Senate on January 17th stood: James F. Wilson 31, T. J. Anderson 26, Daniel Campbell 3, J. R. Reed 1, and John A. T. Hull 1.—*Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1888, p. 98.

The vote in the Senate on January 24th stood: James F. Wilson 29, T. J. Anderson 10, and Henry Wallace 1. In the House the votes stood: James F. Wilson 57, T. J. Anderson 19, Daniel Campbell 3, J. R. Reed 1, and John A. T. Hull 1.—*Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1888, p. 123.

CHAPTER XVI

[406] Quoted from the *Cedar Rapids Gazette* in the *Iowa City Daily Republican,* Vol. XIII, No. 205, July 5, 1889.

[407] *Iowa City Daily Republican,* Vol. XIII, No. 205, July 5, 1889.

[408] Quoted from the *Des Moines Daily News* in the *Iowa City Daily Republican,* Vol. XIII, No. 286, October 10, 1889.

[409] See mention of this charge in *The Cedar Rapids Times,* Vol. XXXIX, No. 7, October 1, 1889; and the *Iowa City Daily Republican,* Vol. XIV, No. 48, January 11, 1890.

[410] See *The Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), October 18, 1889.

[411] *Iowa City Daily Republican,* Vol. XIV, No. 16, December 2, 1889.

[412] Quoted from the *Clinton Herald* in the *Iowa City Daily Republican,* Vol. XIV, No. 21, December 7, 1889.

[413] The editor of the *Bedford Democrat* was apparently among those who favored this plan.— See the *Iowa City Daily Republican,* Vol. XIV, No. 10, November 23, 1889.

[414] Quoted from *The Iowa State Register* in the *Iowa City Daily Republican,* Vol. XIV, No. 22, December 9, 1889.

[415] *The Cedar Rapids Times,* Vol. XXXIX, No. 13, December 12, 1889.

[416] *Iowa City Daily Republican,* Vol. XIV, No. 29, December 18, 1889.

[417] Quoted from the *Boston Journal* in the *Iowa City Daily Republican,* Vol. XIV, No. 30, December 19, 1889.

[418] Quoted from the *Howard County Times* in *The Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), January 9, 1890.

[419] *The Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), January 7, 1890.

[420] *The Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), January 18, 1890.

[421] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1890, p. 83. This result was achieved only after an agreement between the Democrats and Republicans in which all the legislative positions were provided for.

[422] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1890, p. 168.

CHAPTER XVII

[423] *Iowa Official Register,* 1894, p. 100.

[424] *The Des Moines Weekly Leader,* November 17, 1892.

[425] *The Des Moines Weekly Leader,* December 22, 1892.

[426] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), January 13, 1893.

[427] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), June 16, 1893.

[428] See for instance *The Iowa Citizen* (Iowa City), September 1, 1893.

[429] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), August 25, 1893.

[430] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), September 8, 1893.

[431] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), October 6, 1893.

[432] *Weekly Times* (Dubuque), November 24, 1893.

[433] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), November 24, 1893.

[434] See *The Iowa Citizen* (Iowa City), December 15,

1893; and a quotation from the *Clinton Herald* in *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), December 22, 1893.

[435] *The Des Moines Weekly Leader,* November 30, 1893.

[436] *The Des Moines Weekly Leader,* December 21, 1893.

[437] *Weekly Times* (Dubuque), January 2, 1894.

[438] See the *Weekly Times* (Dubuque), December 22, 1893, and January 2, 1894.

[439] *Weekly Times* (Dubuque), January 2, 1894.

[440] *The Des Moines Weekly Leader,* January 4, 1894.

[441] Quoted from the *Mason City Globe* in the *Weekly Times* (Dubuque), January 5, 1894.

[442] See *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), January 12, 1894; and *The Des Moines Weekly Leader,* January 11, 1894.

[443] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), January 12, 1894.

[444] For good accounts of the Republican caucus see *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), January 19, 1894; and *The Des Moines Weekly Leader,* January 18, 1894.

The first ballot stood: Gear 42, Hepburn 19, Lacey 10, Stone 13, Cummins 12, Coffin 4, Perkins 12.

The second ballot stood: Gear 50, Hepburn 14, Lacey 8, Stone 12, Cummins 15, Coffin 2, Perkins 11.

The third ballot stood: Gear 57, Hepburn 15, Lacey 8, Stone 11, Cummins 10, Coffin 1, Perkins 12.

[445] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), January 19, 1894.

[446] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), January 19, 1894.

[447] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1894, pp. 78, 97. On January 17th Gear received 111 votes, Boies 28, and W. H. Butler 1. On January 24th Gear received 98, Boies 25, and Butler 1.

CHAPTER XVIII

[448] *The Des Moines Weekly Leader,* October 17, 1895.

[449] *The Des Moines Weekly Leader,* December 26, 1895.

[450] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), December 27, 1895.

[451] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), January 17, 1896.

[452] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1896, p. 69.

CHAPTER XIX

[453] See *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), August 25, 1899.

[454] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 5, 1899.

[455] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), September 15 and 22, 1899.

[456] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), August 25, 1899.

[457] For instance, see *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 7 and 14, and December 22, 1899.

[458] See *The Burlington Hawk-Eye,* September 7, 1899.

[459] See quotation from the *Cedar Rapids Republican* in *The Burlington Hawk-Eye,* June 29, 1899.

[460] Quoted from *The Council Bluffs Nonpareil* in *The Burlington Hawk-Eye* (Weekly), July 6, 1899.

[461] Quoted from the *Howard County Times* (Cresco), in *The Burlington Hawk-Eye* (Weekly), August 10, 1899.

[462] *The Burlington Hawk-Eye* (Weekly), August 31, 1899.

[463] *The Burlington Hawk-Eye* (Weekly), January 4, 1900.

[464] For accounts of the caucus see *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), January 12, 1900; and *The Burlington Hawk-Eye* (Weekly), January 11, 1900.

[465] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1900, p. 95.

[466] Quoted from *The Iowa City Republican* in *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 28, 1899.

[467] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), August 24, 1900.

[468] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), August 24, 1900.

[469] See *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), December 13, 1901; and *The Burlington Hawk-Eye* (Weekly), January 9, 1902.

[470] *The Burlington Hawk-Eye* (Weekly), January 16, 1902.

[471] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1902, pp. 76, 77.

[472] *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), November 28, 1906.

[473] *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), January 13, 1907.

[474] *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), January 22, 1907.

[475] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1907, p. 153.

[476] See Van der Zee's *Amendments to the Constitution of the United States Proposed in the State Legislature of Iowa 1846-1909* in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics,* Vol. VII, pp. 396-401.

[477] *Laws of Iowa,* 1906, p. 212.

[478] See the *Report of Proceedings of the Inter-State Senatorial Amendment Convention* held at Des Moines, Iowa, December, 1906.

[479] *Laws of Iowa,* 1907, p. 51.

[480] *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), Vol. LVIII, No. 147, November 26, 1907.

[481] *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), Vol. LVIII, No. 165, December 14, 1907.

[482] *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), Vol. LVIII, No. 167, December 16, 1907.

[483] *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), Vol. LVIII, No. 166, December 15, 1907.

[484] *Iowa Official Register,* 1909-1910, pp. 600-605.

[485] *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), Vol. LIX, No. 55, August 26, 1908.

[486] *Laws of Iowa,* Extra Session, 1908, p. 3.

[487] *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), Vol. LIX, No. 65, September 5, 1908.

[488] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* Extra Session, 1908, pp. 92-94, 100-103.

[489] *Laws of Iowa,* Extra Session, 1908, p. 6.

[490] *Iowa Official Register,* 1909-10, p. 600.

[491] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* Extra Session, 1908, pp. 120-122.

[492] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1909, pp. 168-170. Albert B. Cummins received 143 votes, and Claude R. Porter 41.

[493] *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), Vol. LXI, No. 135, November 13, 1910.

[494] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1911, p. 182.

[495] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1911, p. 494.

[496] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1911, pp. 1924, 1925. The final vote stood: Claude R. Porter 51, Horace E. Deemer 19, William S. Kenyon 85. Among those not mentioned on the first ballot who received votes occasionally during the deadlock were Paul E. Stillman, J. U. Sammis, Henry Wallace, Daniel Hamilton, George W. Clarke, and Horace M. Towner. The Democratic vote was for a time transferred to Frank A. O'Connor.

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